A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF

MATÉQ

A LAND DAYAK LANGUAGE

OF WEST KALIMANTAN, INDONESIA

A thesis

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Abstract (English)

Matéq is an Austronesian language of the Land Dayak (Bidayuhic) subgroup spoken by around 10,000–20,000 people in West Kalimantan (Borneo), Indonesia. This thesis presents a sketch grammar of the language based on linguistic fieldwork conducted from September 2012 to January 2013. Topics discussed in the sketch grammar include the geographic and social context of the Matéq language, its phonology and elements of its morphosyntax. Major features of Matéq phonology include the presence of both plain and prenasalised plosives, geminate nasals, and nasal vowels that contrast with oral vowels in certain positions. In terms of morphosyntax, this study shows that Matéq has two sets of personal pronouns which encode information about the generational relationships between speech participants or referents. With respect to grammatical voice, findings suggest that Matéq has five distinct voice constructions which can be distinguished on the basis of their morphosyntactic and semantic properties. Each voice construction also tends to have different pragmatic and TAM associations. This study also shows that Matéq has optional subject marking with certain verbs, and has both continuous and discontinuous serial verb constructions.

Ringkasan (Bahasa Indonesia)

Bahasa Matéq adalah salah satu bahasa dari kelompok bahasa Austronesia (subkelompok Dayak Darat atau Bidayuhic) yang dituturkan oleh kira-kira 10.000–20.000 orang di provinsi Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia. Tesis ini mengajukan deskripsi singkat tatabahasa Matéq berdasarkan penelitian linguistik yang dilaksanakan pada bulan September tahun 2012 sampai bulan Januari tahun 2013. Topik-topik yang dibahas dalam deskripsi ini mencakupi konteks geografis dan sosial bahasa Matéq, fonologinya, serta morfosintaksnya. Ciri-ciri utama fonologi bahasa Matéq mencakupi konsonan plosif pranasal, konsonan nasal dobel, serta vokal sengau yang bisa dibedakan dari vokal tidak sengau di posisi-posisi tertentu. Dalam halnya morfosintaks, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa bahasa Matéq mempunyai dua macam kata pronomina (kata ganti), yang mengandung informasi tentang hubungan-hubungan generasi orang. Hasil proyek ini juga mengajukan bahwa bahasa Matéq mempunyai lima bentuk kata verba (grammatical voice constructions) yang bisa dibedakan oleh ciri-ciri morfosintaksisnya dan semantisnya. Setiap bentuk ini berkecenderungan diasosiasikan dengan waktu, aspek, modus atau ciri-ciri pragmatis yang berbeda. Penelitian ini menunjukkan juga bahwa tanda subyek (subject marking) dipakai dengan beberapa kata verba bahasa Matéq, secara tidak wajib. Bahasa Matéq juga mempunyai konstruksi verba serial yang kontinu dan tidak kontinu.

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Conventions and Abbreviations

[ ]	phonetic transcription
/ /	phonemic transcription
.	syllable boundary (in phonology); also used to separate several glosses that are represented in a single lexeme (in morphosyntax)
-	morpheme boundary (in morphosyntax)
=	cliticised element
*	reconstructed form
§	section
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	Actor argument
ADV	adverbial
AV	actor voice morphology
C	consonant
EMP	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
EXCLT	exclamative
HON	honorific
INCL	inclusive
IRR	irrealis
MIR	mirative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalising morphology
ONOM	onomatopoeic form
PL	plural
PRFT	perfect aspect
QUAN	quantifier
RED	reduplicated form
REL	relative marker
SG	singular
TOA	term of address

U	Undergoer argument
UV	undergoer voice morphology
V	vowel; verb
VOC	vocative particle

Examples in this thesis are generally glossed following the Leipzig glossing rules.[1] Some words, particularly those of uncertain function, are glossed according to their phonological form, e.g. *nyaq*: NYAQ. Proper nouns are glossed with their initials, e.g. *Bunuo Mawa*: B M. Text references are formatted as (textname.linenumber). Texts include the following (elicited texts are marked with an asterisk[2]):

AK	*Asal Ompek Koli* 'The origins of the village of Koli'
BD	*Bua ngan Dioq* 'The Bear and the Turtle'
BO	Bake Off*
DN	*Dayua Niyo*
ES	Elicitation Session*
GS	Ghost Story
MS	*Mawa Sora*
OB	*Oya Babu* 'Mother Mouse'
OT	*Onaq Tuma* 'Orphan'
PS	Personal Story
R	*Rugu* 'Chameleon'*
S2	Story 2
SG	Sick Girl*
T	*Tupei* 'Treeshrew'
WC	Woodchopper*

1 See http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php.

2 The texts Bake Off, Chameleon, Sick Girl and Woodchopper were elicited using storyboards obtained from Totem Field Storyboards. See http://totemfieldstoryboards.org/.

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the Matéq language and provides some background information regarding the methods and aim of this study, beginning with the question of classification in (§1.1). (§1.2) then discusses some aspects of the geographic and social context of Matéq and its speakers. A brief discussion of issues related to language vitality is given in (§1.3), before some notes on sociolinguistic variation are presented in (§1.4). (§1.5) gives an overview of previous research on Matéq and its neighbouring languages. The data and aims of this study are then discussed in (§1.6).

1.1 Classification

The language described in this study is known by its speakers and those who live in West Kalimantan by several names. These include the terms *Matéq* and (*Bahasa* or *Cakap*) *Bumatéq*[3], which are based on the word *matéq* 'soon'.[4] Many people also refer to the language as *Bunyamp*, *Bunyamp-nyamp* or *Bumonyamp*, following the West Kalimantan tradition[5] of naming language varieties with shibboleths based on the word for 'no/not there' – in this case *(mo)nyamp* 'not there'. In addition to these names, speakers often use the terms *Bahasa* (or *Cakap*) *Oméq*[6] 'Our Language', *Bahasa Oméq Kotéq* 'The Language of Us Here' or *Bahasa Ompek* 'Village Language' when referring to their speech variety. When translating specific words, phrases or clauses speakers will often follow the translation with the quotative *kuat oméq* (*kotéq*) 'we (here) say'. For the purposes of simplicity, the name *Matéq* is adopted for this study.

Strangely, none of the names above are attested in publication. Both Hudson (1970) and Ethnologue (Lewis *et al*. 2013) refer to the speech variety in and around the Matéq-speaking area under the name of the nearest large town: *Kembayan*.[7] The name *Matéq* is preferred to *Kembayan* in this study since speakers informed me that, although many Matéq speakers live in the town of Kembayan, the local population of that area belongs to a different speech community. A report into the linguistic diversity of West Kalimantan by the Institut Dayakologi also fails to mention any of

3 The terms *bahasa bumatéq* and *cakap bumatéq* can be roughly translated as 'the language that uses *matéq*'. The prefix *bu-*, seen in several of the language names here, is discussed in (§4.1.2).

4 The reason why this word is commonly used as a language name is unclear, but its use may be related to the distinctive repetition of the noun phrase particle *téq matéq-éh* (see §3.3.7) heard in many stories and other narratives.

5 See, e.g., Adelaar (2005:5).

6 *Bahasa* and *cakap* appear to be borrowings of the Indonesian words *bahasa* 'language, speech' and *cakap* 'words, speech, talk'.

7 The ISO 639-3 code for Kembayan is [xem]. Based on the information I was provided by native speakers of Matéq, it would appear that the current Ethnologue entry may cover more than one speech variety. Further research into the surrounding speech communities would be extremely helpful in clarifying this.

the terms given above, and much of the Matéq-speaking area is left blank on their language map[8] (Bamba *et al*. 2008).

In terms of linguistic classification, Matéq can be said to belong to the Land Dayak, or Bidayuhic, language group. This group consists of mostly under-described languages and is generally considered to be a subgroup of the Austronesian language family.[9] Interestingly, Adelaar (1995:93) has pointed out that many of the Land Dayak languages are morphosyntactically 'rather different' from other Austronesian languages and even appear to share some basic vocabulary items with the Aslian (Austro-asiatic) languages of the Malay Peninsula. An in-depth historical-comparative study of Land Dayak languages would therefore be of great value in understanding their internal relationships and place within the wider Austronesian context.

1.2 Geographic and Social Context

Matéq is spoken in the northern part of Kabupaten Sanggau[10] (West Kalimantan, Indonesia), in the area around the upper Sekayam river basin. The Matéq-speaking area includes the region to the east of the town of Kembayan (i.e. Kecamatan Kembayan), and stretches at least as far north as the town of Noyan (i.e. Kecamatan Noyan). The map in Figure (1) shows an estimate of the area where Matéq is spoken, on the basis of information provided by native speakers.[11] This land is often referred to by native speakers as *Bunuo Mawa*[12] and the stories of *Mawa Sora*[13] recount the traditional history of their tribe long ago (see Appendix 3).

Villages are located throughout the region shaded in Figure (1) below. Many of the more remote ones are still unconnected to public electricity, and access to other services such as medical clinics and schools (particularly beyond primary level) is severely limited. Transportation is also difficult off the main roads, especially given the steepness of terrain in many areas, as well as

8 A small area is listed as *Bi Somu*. Based on my experiences in the field, it seems that native speakers usually reserve this term for people from the northern Matéq dialect group (see §1.4).

9 See Lewis *et al*. (2013) and Adelaar (1995). Rensch *et al*. (2012) have attempted a reconstruction of Proto Land Dayak, mostly on the basis of data from the Sarawak varieties of Land Dayak languages.

10 For those not familiar with Indonesian administrative territorial divisions, a *provinsi* 'province' consists of several *kabupaten* 'regencies', which are in turn made up of many *kecamatan* 'district'.

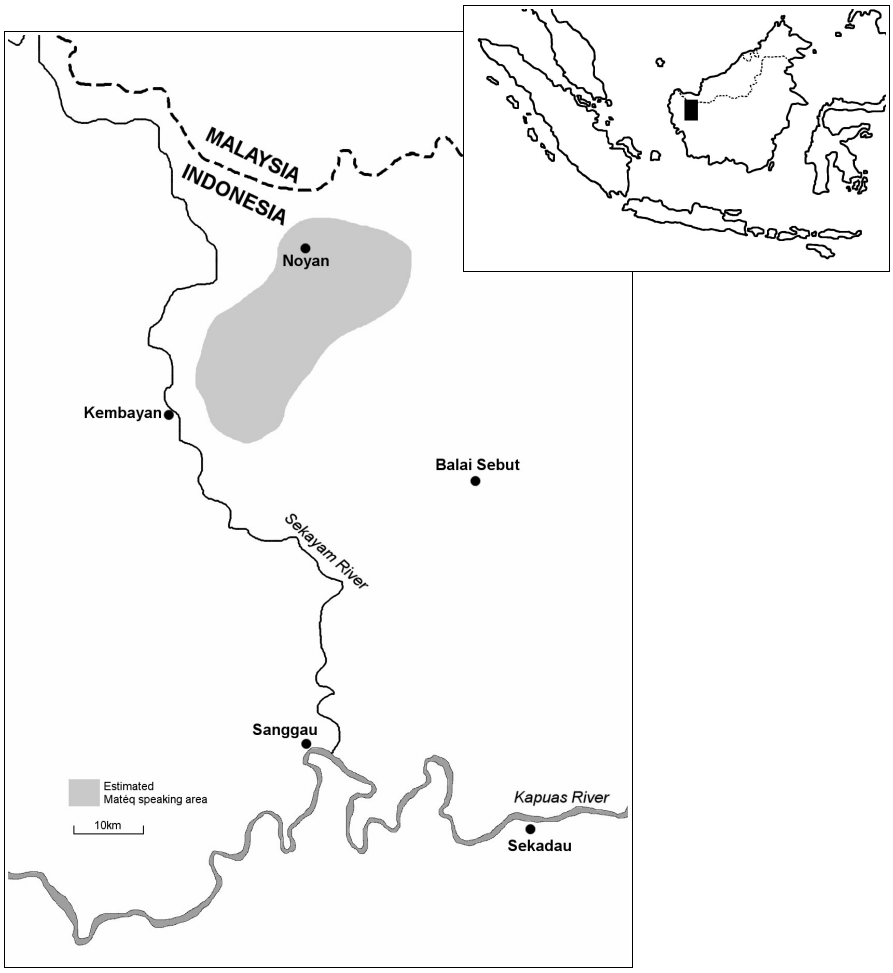
11 Some speakers suggested that Matéq was spoken in a village called *Seboduh*, which (on the maps I have access to) appears to be located to the south-west of Kembayan (not included in Figure 1). Other villages around Kembayan, however, speak a variety that Matéq-speakers called *cakap nogeh*, so this may be a case of inaccurate mapping and/or homophonous village names.

12 That is, the 'land of *mawa*'. *Mawa* refers to the remnants of now-abandoned villages and their surrounding forest area, which often contains many fruiting trees. The term *Bunuo Mawa* is also attested in reference to the Matéq people themselves.

13 That is, 'the *mawa* of attack'. Parts of these stories tell of how the ancestors of the Matéq people were attacked by *muent* 'ghosts' and forced to flee to *Bunuo Mawa*. Other parts also recount attacks on *Bunuo Mawa* by nearby tribes, as well as attacks carried out by *Bunuo Mawa*. The term *Mawa Sora* is also attested in reference to the Matéq people themselves.

tropical weather conditions which often render unpaved roads impassable.

Figure (1): Map of estimated Matéq-speaking area[14]



The exact number of Matéq speakers is difficult to determine since access to remote villages makes obtaining reliable data a challenge. Census data from 2012 report that the combined total population of Kecamatan Kembayan and Noyan (irrespective of language) is approximately 35,669,[15] while Ethnologue gives the total number of 'Kembayan' speakers as 11,000 (Lewis *et al*. 2013). Taking into account the tendency for young adult speakers to move away from their home villages in search of work, as well as frequent intermarriage with neighbouring people groups (in which case the wife often moves to her husband's village), it seems reasonable to posit an estimated total number of Matéq speakers of between 10,000–20,000.

14 This map is based on data from OpenStreetMaps (© OpenStreetMaps contributors, see openstreetmaps.org) and the 2004 provincial map of West Kalimantan downloaded from the Badan Koordinasi Survei dan Pemetaan Nasional website (http://www.bakosurtanal.go.id/assets/News/peta_dinding/Kalbar.zip). Both websites accessed 17 October 2013.

15 Data obtained from the Badan Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia website on 14 August 2013: http://bps.go.id/download_file/Penduduk_Indonesia_menurut_desa_SP2010.pdf

The Matéq people are an indigenous Dayak tribe of the island of Borneo.[16] Like many other Dayak groups, they are traditionally swidden agriculturalists whose lifestyle is intimately connected with the forest. This lifestyle is still dominant in remoter villages, while non-agricultural lifestyles are more common in villages nearer the main roads. The tragic destruction of extensive areas of forest due to industries such as oil-palm plantations and logging has also forced many villages to rely less on forest-based resources.

In areas where agricultural practices are maintained, the main cultivated crop is rice, which requires the making of rice fields. Food is also sourced directly from the forest (primarily fruit and pigs) and rivers (fish). In addition to rice fields, many people tend to family-owned rubber groves. Profits from the resulting latex often form the primary means of monetary income for families in these areas.

Village life follows a yearly cycle centred around rice field-related activities, many of which are associated with traditional 'adat' (customs).[17] The yearly cycle can be divided up into several stages: in June–July people begin to *nouq* or *ngkasat* 'clear sections of the forest for making ricefields'. This is followed by a period of burning (*nicual* 'burn' or *mapi* 'burn again'), when most of the organic material that has been cut down is turned into ash which fertilises the soil. The ricefields (*meh*) are sown (*nuruaq* and *nyomuar*) in approximately September. Most fields contain at least a mixture of *podi* 'rice', *jagok* 'corn' and *gala* 'edible tuber, e.g. cassava'. Many of these activities require people to *ngirih* 'work co-operatively'.[18] In the following months people spend most days *nyobu* 'weeding' and tending to their rice fields. Harvest (*ngotep*) occurs around April and is followed by the festival *mporiq sowoq* (lit. 'returning the year'[19]) in approximately May–June. Festival times in different villages are usually staggered across several weeks, which allows for people to *póngóq* 'visit' each other's celebrations. The harvest festival and some of the other activities above often involve elements of the traditional animistic belief system of the Dayak

16 See Bamba *et al.* (2008:9-22) and Hudson (1970) for more on the term *Dayak*, its origins, and its significance in West Kalimantan. To my knowledge, the Matéq-speaking people do not have a clear term to refer to themselves as a people group. Some language consultants suggested the name *bidayuh* (or *bidoyeh*) 'upland people', similar to the related Bidayuh of Sarawak (see Rensch *et al*. 2012). However, it is unclear to what extent this term has wider acceptance so for the purposes of this chapter, I refer to them as 'the Matéq people'. Language consultants also told me that the tribe as a whole does not have a governing chief/king/headman, but that each village usually deals with issues of importance to their community through local meetings where mutual consensus is sought. This seems to reflect the situation described in Geddes (1961). As an aside, some readers may be familiar with the infamous headhunting practices of Dayak tribes in the past. Language consultants informed me that the ancestors of the Matéq people were also engaged in this at one time, a fact that is consistent with the content of some of the traditional stories collected during this study.

17 The term *adat* is used throughout Indonesia to refer to traditional customs and regulations. See Bamba *et al.* (2008) for more on *adat* in the Dayak context.

18 The concept of *pungirih* 'working co-operatively' entails that a person will reciprocate any help given to them. A related concept in Matéq is that of *sirampuaq* 'to share', where all people involved in an activity make an agreement to share the results, even if most of the work is done by only some of them.

19 This is analogous to the *gawai* festivals of other Dayak tribes. See, for instance, Tjia (2007:5).

people. In addition to animism, Christianity (both Protestantism and Catholicism) and Islam are represented in the population to varying degrees.

The Matéq people have a strong tradition of oral storytelling, as reflected by the traditional stories collected during the course of this research (see Appendix 3 for examples). These stories include fables, myths and accounts of ancient events, many of which are known only by the older generations. The vitality of this storytelling tradition is not clear, especially given the prevalence of modern forms of entertainment during evening leisure hours when stories are often told.

1.3 Language Vitality

The overall vitality of the Matéq language is difficult to assess on the basis of this study alone. From my own observations, transmission of the language to children and younger generations appears to be healthy in villages where Matéq is the primary language of communication.[20] Formal education in the area is officially conducted solely in the national Indonesian language, although speakers informed me that teachers may use Matéq during the early schooling years to help students understand lesson content. To my knowledge there is no established orthography for Matéq, and I am unaware of any published written material in the language. Speakers often use a semi-phonetic adaptation of the Indonesian orthographic system (see §2.6) when communicating through text-based media such as text-messaging and on social media websites. From my observations, attitudes toward the language seem positive, although I could not find people who knew of any current language documentation or conservation activities. This is significant given that UNESCO (2003:2) estimate that 'about 90% of the world's languages may be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21st century'. The future vitality of the Matéq language therefore remains to be seen.

1.4 Sociolinguistic Variation

Sociolinguistic variation that was noted during the course of this study includes dialect-based variation and lexical variation. Native speakers identified three major dialects which appear to correspond to three groupings of Matéq people, identified by their physical location: *Bi Somù* 'highland people', *Bi Uwah Bunuo* 'midland people' and *Bi Sigat* 'lowland people'.

The *Bi Somù* live in the northern part of the Matéq-speaking area. Their speech can be easily

20 These comments are based on my experience in the village of Koli, where Matéq was the primary language. The situation in other villages may be different.

identified by the use of words that contain the low central vowel [a][21] in their penultimate syllables where in other dialects the vowel is the mid-high back vowel [o] (1.1a-e). This pattern does not appear to result in any additional phonemic vowel contrasts in the *Bi Somù* dialect, since both /a/ and /o/ are phonemes in their own right in all varieties of Matéq (see §2.2). There are also words that contain penultimate /a/ and /o/ in all dialects. Interestingly, all of the lexemes which show this pattern contain the central vowel [ɨ] or the diphthong [i̯a] in their final syllables (see §2.2 for more on syllable-related vowel distribution in Matéq).

		Bi Somù	Elsewhere
(1.1)	a.	[mãtɨh] 'eye'	[mõtɨh]
	b.	[kanɨ̃h] 'by'	[konɨ̃h]
	c.	[adi̯ah] 'exist'	[odi̯ah]
	d.	[ampɨk] 'village'	[ompɨk]
	e.	[nãnɨ̃i̯ãʔ] AV.cook 'cook'	[nõnɨ̃i̯ãʔ]

Other features of the *Bi Somù* dialect include lexical differences such as the use of *taput*(*ko*) 'suddenly, then, in fact', which was not attested in the speech of people from other dialect areas. Stories collected from a *Bi Somù* speaker also suggest that the noun phrase particle *téq matéq-éh* (see §3.3.7) may be more frequent in the speech of people from that region (see Appendix 3, Text 1 for examples). Speakers from other dialects also reported that *Bi Somù* speech is slower than other varieties, although some *Bi Somù* speakers themselves informed me that their dialect was spoken faster than others. It is worth noting that the main language consultant in this study was a *Bi Somù* speaker.

The *Bi Uwah Bunuo* group live in the central part of the Matéq-speaking region. This area

21 This [a] may be a preservation of Proto Austronesian *a which presumably subsequently shifted to [o] in other varieties, e.g. *mateh* ~ *moteh* 'eye' vs. *maCa 'eye' (Blust 2011:546).

includes the village of Koli, where fieldwork was conducted during this study (see §1.6 below). Apart from the appearance of [o] in places where *Bi Somù* has [a], the *Bi Uwah Bunuo* dialect is difficult to define. Some speakers again suggested that the variety is spoken quicker than other dialects, however further investigation would be needed to confirm this. Some stylistic patterns are evident in the texts collected from the area, such as the frequent use of the demonstrative *aiq* (functionally similar to *téq matéq-éh* above) – this may be a feature of the dialect (see Appendix 3, Text 2 for examples).

The third dialect of Matéq is that spoken by the *Bi Sigat*. The *Bi Sigat* live in the southern part of the Matéq-speaking area, near to the town of Kembayan. Like the *Bi Uwah Bunuo* dialect, it shows the mid-high back vowel [o] in (1.1) above. Many speakers from other dialect groups identified *Bi Sigat* speech by characteristic prosodic features such as a "rolling" intonation and slow, drawn-out tempo. Further research would undoubtedly be helpful in describing these features in detail.

In addition to dialect-based variation, a considerable amount of lexical variation was observed, both within the speech of individual speakers and across different speakers. Such variation includes two forms of the demonstrative *téq ~ ité*q 'this', the verb *póngóq ~ mpóngóq* 'visit' and the 3rd person short pronoun *ngéh ~ néh*. Some of these variants may be phonologically conditioned. Some speakers also followed the demonstrative *téq* 'this' with an emphatic element *éh* (1.2), while other speakers simply used the demonstrative on its own.

(1.2) *dout téq éh* (cf. *dout téq*)
leaf this EMP
'this leaf' (ES2.60)

Possible evidence of stylistic variation includes speech forms reported as 'children's speech': the contraction [wɨt] from [tuɨtn] 'first', and the realisation of /a/-gliding diphthongs as monophthongs e.g. [mõnõʔ] for [mõnũ̯ãʔ] 'bird'. The frequency of optional subject marking may also be sociolinguistically based (see §6.7 for more on subject marking).

There is some evidence for lexical borrowings from neighbouring languages in Matéq. For instance, the form [baʤuŋ] 'pig' is reportedly an adoption from the Jangkang language (also Land Dayak, see Lewis *et al.* 2013). The full extent of borrowing and other language contact-induced phenomena is not known on the basis of this study and further investigation is needed.

1.5 Previous Research

As far as I am aware, the first and only publication of linguistic data that can be considered as being on the Matéq language itself is a 215-item basic vocabulary wordlist collected by Hudson (1970). As mentioned above, Hudson refers to this language as *Kembayan*, after the name of a large town in the area. A number of small inconsistencies[22] are apparent when comparing Hudson's data with vocabulary collected for the current study (see Appendix 1) – these seem to be mostly issues of transcription and possibly dialectal variation.

Discussions on aspects of closely related Land Dayak languages spoken in Sarawak (Malaysia) can be found in Scott (1964), who describes properties of nasal consonants in Bukar-Sadong, and Court (1967a&b, 1970, 1972, 1977), who describes various features of the Mĕntu variety of Bukar-Sadong. Similarities with the Matéq data can be seen in many of Court's 'active/passive' alternations (1977:2-3), which are directly comparable to those seen in this study,[23] while phonetic and lexical differences suggest the two varieties are quite distinct.[24] The exact historical-comparative relationship between these two speech varieties remains to be determined.

Research within the broader Land Dayak group includes Rensch *et al.* (2012). Much of this study focuses on the nasal phenomena of the Bidayuh languages of Sarawak (Malaysia), as well as attempting a historical reconstruction of Proto Land Dayak. Data from Hudson (1970) on Matéq and some other varieties are included in this reconstruction. These data are also used in the conference paper Rensch (2006) to discuss contrasting rhythm patterns across the Bidayuh varieties.

Another conference paper, Tadmor (2010), addresses the pronoun system of the Semandang language variety (spoken further south than Matéq, in West Kalimantan). Semandang is also a Land Dayak language and appears to have a generational-based pronoun system similar to the one described in (§3.2.1) for Matéq.

The Bakatik Riuk language is described in a Ph.D. thesis by Sudarsono (2002). The thesis includes an analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of this variety based on fieldwork and, although it does not mention some important topics in Land Dayak, such as vowel nasality, it is one of the most comprehensive descriptions of a Land Dayak language to date.

A number of publications from the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (Centre for the Promotion and Development of Language) in Jakarta appear to describe Land Dayak varieties.

22 E.g. Hudson's *nasiga* vs. [ŋãsi̪a] 'to breathe' and Hudson's *butangəna'* vs. [butañ̃ã̃ʔ] 'to cook'

23 E.g. Mĕntu Land Dayak (from Court 1977:2, the transcription to IPA is my own, following Court's notes) [tiʤuʔ ~ niʤuʔ] 'to point to' and [naʔãn ~ maʔãn] 'to eat', vs. Matéq [tiʤuʔ ~ niʤuʔ] 'point at', [nãn ~ mãn] 'eat'.

24 E.g. Mĕntu Land Dayak (from Court 1977:1, the transcription to IPA is my own, following Court's notes) [buʔɨs] 'sleep' and [kinɐbɨs] 'kill', vs. Matéq [bis] 'sleep' and [ŋkomis] 'kill'.

These include Darmansyah *et al.* (1994) and Sulissusiawan *et al*. (1999), which are both studies of a variety spoken in the Sekayam District. The latter gives a phonetic and phonological description plus a small wordlist, while the former provides an overview of some syntactic properties and includes a small collection of proverbs. Some concern, however, has been voiced over the scope and nature of these publications (see Soriente & Inagaki 2012 and Adelaar 2010).

Relevant publications on the languages of West Kalimantan and Borneo in general include Soriente & Inagaki (2012), who present an overview of research conducted across the whole of Kalimantan, as well as Tjia's (2007) Ph.D. thesis on Mualang (an Ibanic language) and Adelaar's (2005) sketch grammar of Salako[25] (a Malayic language). The Institut Dayakologi (Dayakology Institute) has also published notes and maps of Dayak subtribes and their self-identified language varieties (Bamba *et al.* 2008). As noted above, however, much of the estimated Matéq-speaking area is strangely blank on these maps.

1.6 Data and Aim

The aim of this study is to describe the major features of Matéq phonology and morphosyntax on the basis of data collected during fieldwork in West Kalimantan between September 2012 – January 2013.[26] This fieldwork was financially supported by a 2012 Gerhardt Laves Scholarship from the Australian Linguistic Society and a University of Canterbury Master's Scholarship. The Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya (Centre for Language and Culture Studies) at the Unversitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya (Atma Jaya Catholic University Indonesia) acted as the local counterpart institution during the fieldwork period.

This description is intended as an initial sketch grammar of the Matéq language, and makes no claim to be comprehensive or complete. My hope for this study is that it may serve to increase our understanding and appreciation of the beautiful languages of this region, and facilitate further work to the benefit of the communities who speak them.

Data collected for this study include a small corpus of traditional and non-traditional stories and songs (just over 100 minutes in total), along with ~37 hours of recorded elicitation sessions with native speaker language consultants. These recordings were made with a Zoom H4n Recorder (*.wav* files, 44.1kHz, 16 bit).[27] There were a total of four language consultants who were recorded

25 Interestingly, the voice system of Salako bears some resemblance to the system found in Matéq (see §4.2.2). Adelaar (2005:8) mentions that Land Dayak and Kanayatn (Malayic) languages must have influenced each other to some extent in the past.

26 Just over three weeks of this time was spent in the village of Koli (Kecamatan Noyan), while the remaining time was spent working with native speakers outside the Matéq-speaking area.

27 Recordings were made using the H4n's internal microphones, along with a Nady HM-10 headmic that was used

during fieldwork: three male speakers and one female speaker, all aged between (approximately) 28–60 years old. Additional data was collected through personal observations and notes taken during the fieldwork period as well as informal conversations with native speakers. The overall number of lexical items collected during the course of research totals at ~3000, although this includes many pairs of related verb forms.[28] Some analysis of the data was conducted during the fieldwork period, with further work completed after returning to New Zealand post-fieldwork. All mistakes, misinterpretations and errors are my own.

during some elicitation sessions. Sadly, technical problems meant that increased levels of static were present in some of the recordings made with the headmic, resulting in some of these files being inadequate for phonetic analysis.

28 Most of these are actor/undergoer voice alternations. See (§4.2.2) for more discussion, and Appendix 2 for some examples.

2. Phonology

This chapter discusses the phonology of Matéq and some of its phonetic features. Major findings include the presence of plain and prenasalised obstruent phonemes, geminate nasal phonemes, and a set of nasal vowels that contrast in certain positions with oral vowels. An examination of the distribution of vowels in Matéq words also reveals that more vowel contrasts are present in final syllables than in non-final syllables. The remainder of this chapter is organised as follows: consonants are discussed in (§2.1), with notes on the segmental phonology of obstruents (§2.1.1), nasals (§2.1.2) and liquids & glides (§2.1.3) presented in each of the subsections. (§2.2) addresses the vowels of Matéq, with further details on diphthongs given in (§2.2.1). Syllable structure is then discussed in (§2.3) before stress is considered in (§2.4). This is followed by (§2.5), which presents some vowel processes in Matéq. The orthography adopted for this thesis is then laid out in (§2.6).

2.1 Consonants

Matéq has 30 consonant phonemes[29]. These include plain and prenasalised bilabial, alveolar and velar sets of voiced and voiceless oral plosives.[30] Voiceless plain and prenasalised alveolar fricatives are present, along with a pair of plain and prenasalised voiced and voiceless postalveolar affricates. There is also a glottal plosive and a glottal fricative. Bilabial, alveolar, postalveolar and velar simple nasals are present, as well as bilabial and alveolar geminate nasals. There are two alveolar liquids: a trill and a lateral approximant. There are also bilabial and postalveolar glides. The consonant phonemes of Matéq can be schematically represented as in Table (1).[31]

29 This number is rather high for an Austronesian language, and is primarily the result of treating prenasalised obstruents as separate phonemes. As discussed in (§2.1.1.1), evidence for their phonemic status is somewhat ambiguous and the choice to analyse them as phonemes in this study has been chosen for phonotactic reasons.

30 The prenasalised voiced bilabial plosive is only attested in one lexeme collected during this study: [lo^{m}ba] 'race'. This is probably a borrowing, cf. Indonesian *lomba* 'race'.

31 All phonetic transcriptions in this chapter use International Phonetic Alphabet symbols.

Table (1): Consonant Phonemes of Matéq

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	**Plain**	p b	t d		k g	ʔ
	Prenasalised	^{m}p (^{m}b)	^{n}t ^{n}d		^{ŋ}k ^{ŋ}g	
Fricative	**Plain**		s			h
	Prenasalised		^{n}s			
Affricate	**Plain**			ʧ ʤ		
	Prenasalised			^{ɲ}ʧ ^{ɲ}ʤ		
Nasal	**Simple**	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
	Geminate	m:	n:			
Trill			r			
Lateral			l			
Glide		w		j		

2.1.1 Obstruents

2.1.1.1. Plosives

Plain bilabial, alveolar and velar voiceless plosives are found in all positions in Matéq words: word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. In word-final position they only occur following an oral vowel. In contrast, the glottal stop only appears word-finally and may be preceded by an oral or nasal vowel. Plain voiced oral plosives, on the other hand, do not appear word-finally.[32] Some minimal pairs for the plain oral plosives are given in (2.1a-f).

(2.1) a. /p/ vs. /b/ [pauh] 'kind of wild mango'

[bauh] 'new'

b. /t/ vs. /d/ [tad̪̲ah] 'leftovers'

[dad̪̲ah] 'roof of mouth'

32 A few exceptions to this occur in a number of suspected borrowings, e.g. [ʤarɨb] 'needle' cf. Indonesian *jarum*.

c. /k/ vs. /g/ [sɨkɨh] 'smell'

[sɨgɨh] 'kind of rattan'

d. /k/ vs. /ʔ/ [nẽtek] 'drip'

[nẽteʔ] 'ringbark'

e. /ʔ/ vs. /h/ [ŋõraʔ] 'split open'

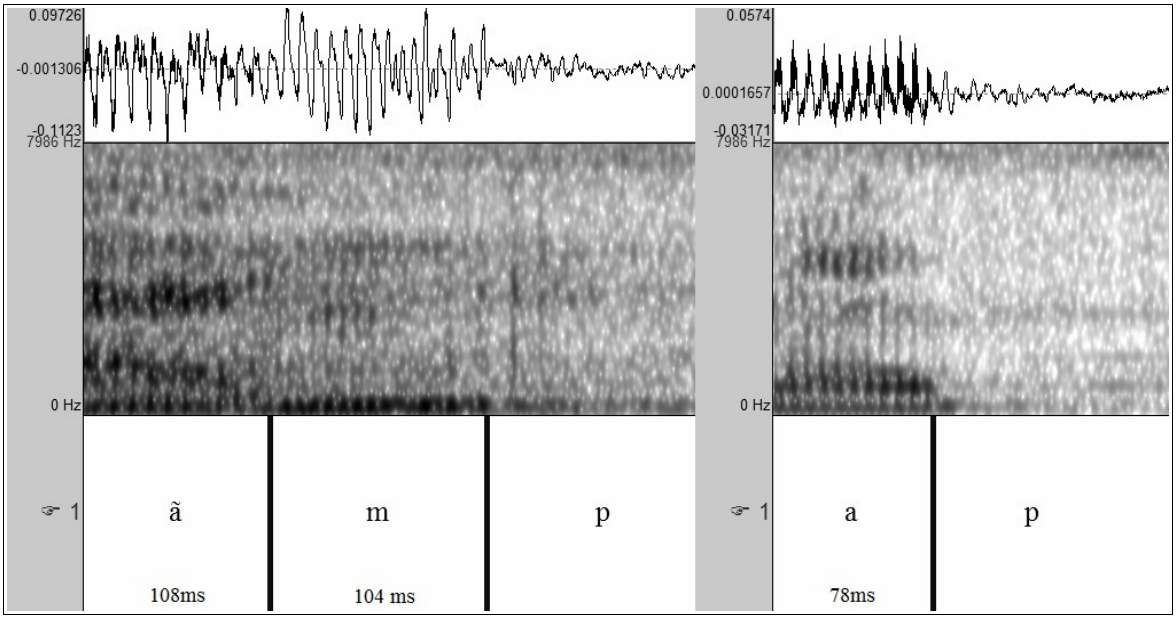
[ŋõrah] 'invite'

f. /ʔ/ vs. # [omãʔ] 'flax mat'

[omã] 'father'

In addition to plain oral plosives, Matéq has a set of prenasalised oral plosives. These differ phonetically from their plain counterparts in the presence of a nasal component immediately before the closure of the plosive. This difference can be seen by contrasting the two spectrograms given in Figure (2)[33]. The plosive on the left is directly preceded by a nasal element. The plosive on the right and does not contain any nasal element before closure.

Figure (2): Waveform and spectrograms of [ã^{m}p$^{˺}$] and [ap$^{˺}$]



33 Waveforms and spectrograms were rendered using Praat. See http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/

Prenasalised obstruents (plosives, fricatives and affricates) are analysed as single segments in this study. This analysis is favoured over the alternative (treating them as consonant clusters) primarily because of their distribution, which is identical to that of single consonants (e.g. they can appear word-initially). Given that no other consonant clusters are attested in Matéq, except due to reduction in natural speech (see §2.5), the assumption that these nasal + obstruent sequences are single segments allows for a simple (C)V(C) syllable structure to be maintained (see §2.3 for more on syllable structure).

Voiceless prenasalised oral plosives are found in all positions in Matéq words: word-initially, intervocalically and word-finally. However, when they occur word-finally they are in complementary distribution with plain plosives (see below). Voiced prenasalised plosives, on the other hand, only occur word-initially[34] and only in polysyllabic words.[35] They are also much less common than plain plosives. Some minimal pairs contrasting prenasalised and plain oral plosives are given in (2.2a-d), and prenasalised plosives and simple nasals in (2.3a-d).[36]

(2.2) a. /p/ vs. /ᵐp/ [pi͡at] 'sparrow'

[ᵐpi͡at] 'step on'

b. /t/ vs. /ⁿt/ [tadu] 'rooster'

[ⁿtadu] 'crow'

c. /d/ vs. /ⁿd/ [doŋãh] 'result'

[ⁿdoŋãh] 'get result'

d. /k/ vs. /ᵑk/ [kalaʔ] 'wooden block'

[ᵑkalaʔ] 'kind of fruit'

34 Some exceptions are found in borrowings, e.g. [ʤeⁿdela] 'window' (cf. Indonesian *jendela* 'window').

35 This places them in complementary distribution with geminate nasals, which also only occur word-initially. See (§2.1.2).

36 Minimal pairs contrasting voiced and voiceless prenasalised plosives (e.g. [ⁿt] vs. [ⁿd]) are not attested in the data.

(2.3) a. /ᵐp/ vs./m/ [ᵐpodoʔ] 'show'

[mõdoʔ] 'order'

b. /ⁿt/ vs. /n/ [ⁿtakɨt] 'stand'

[nãkɨt] 'pay back'

c. /ᵑk/ vs. /ŋ/ [ᵑkirih] 'see'

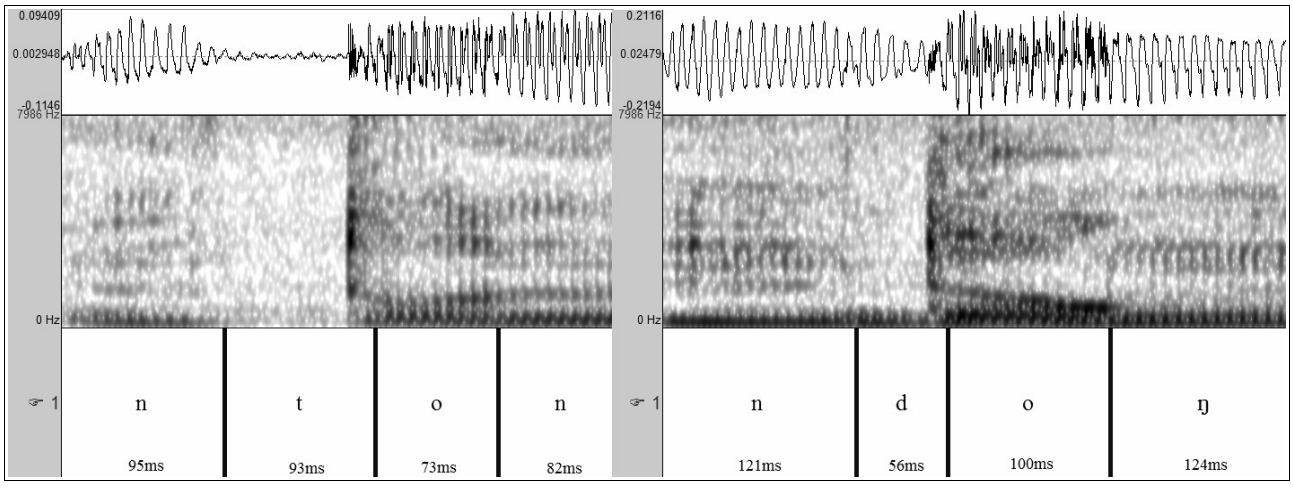
[ŋĩrih] 'work together[37]'

d. /ᵑg/ vs. /ŋ/ [ᵑgule] 'lie down (causative)'

[ŋũle] 'lie down (intransitive)'

The phonetic difference between voiced and voiceless prenasalised plosives is illustrated in the spectrograms in Figure (3). In the voiceless example on the left, the closure phase of the oral plosive shows no vocal chord vibration, as indicated by the lack of energy in the waveform during this period. In the voiced example on the right, however, vocal chord vibration continues throughout closure, as can be seen from regular peaks of energy in the waveform.

Figure (3): Waveform and spectrograms of [ⁿton] from [ⁿtonõh] and [ⁿdoŋ] from [ⁿdoŋãh]



37 The concept of *ngirih* is described in more detail in (§1.2).

The voiceless prenasalised plosives only occur in word-final position when they follow a nasal vowel.[38] This restriction places them in complementary distribution with word-final plain plosives, which only occur following an oral vowel. Examples of this can be found in the morphosyntactic verb alternations given in (2.4a-b) between derived (grammatical) actor and undergoer voices (see §4.2.2). In these examples, the forms on the left-hand side contain nasal vowels which are followed by prenasalised final plosives, while the forms on the right-hand side contain oral vowels and have plain final plosives.

(2.4)	a.	[ɲɨ̃j̃ɨ̃^{m}p]		cf.	[sajɨp]
		AV.spray			UV.spray
		'spray (AV)'			'spray (UV)'
	b.	[nõĩ^{n}t]		cf.	[tait]
		AV.hang			UV.hang
		'hang (AV)'			'hang (UV)'

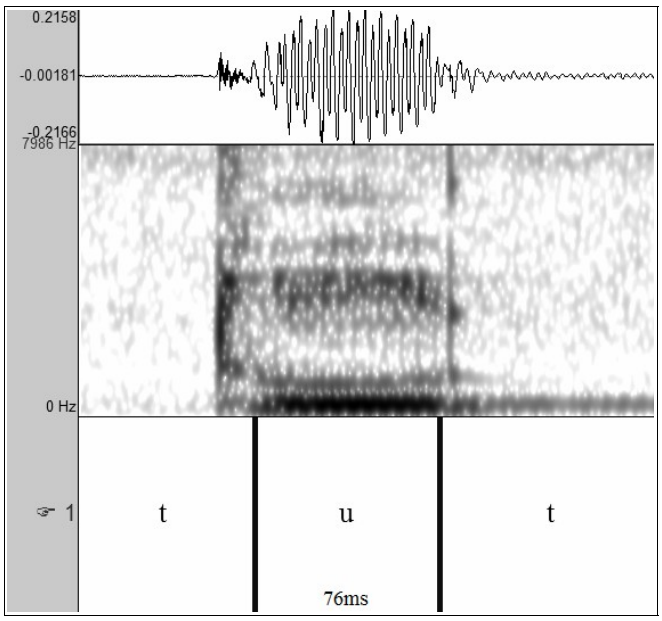
It appears then that prenasalised plosives could be considered allophones of plain plosives in word-final position in Matéq. However, they are contrastive with plain plosives word-initially (2.5) and can thus be analysed as separate phonemes in this position (see also 2.2a-d above).

(2.5)	/p/ vs. /^{m}p/	[p͡iat] 'sparrow'
		[^{m}p͡iat] 'step on'

With regards to phonetic quality, when plain plosives occur word-finally they are unreleased. This can be observed in the spectrogram of [tut] 'kind of animal' given in Figure (4), which shows the absence of any energy that might be associated with a release after the closure of the final alveolar plosive /t/.

38 As an aside, final plosive prenasalisation in Matéq could possibly be seen as the equal and opposite phenomenon to final nasal preplosion as described in Blust (1997), i.e. if preplosion is associated with the preservation of the preceding vowel's orality (possibly leading to the complete de-nasalisation of final nasals in Matéq, see Footnote 41), then prenasalisation could be associated with the preservation of the preceding vowel's nasality.

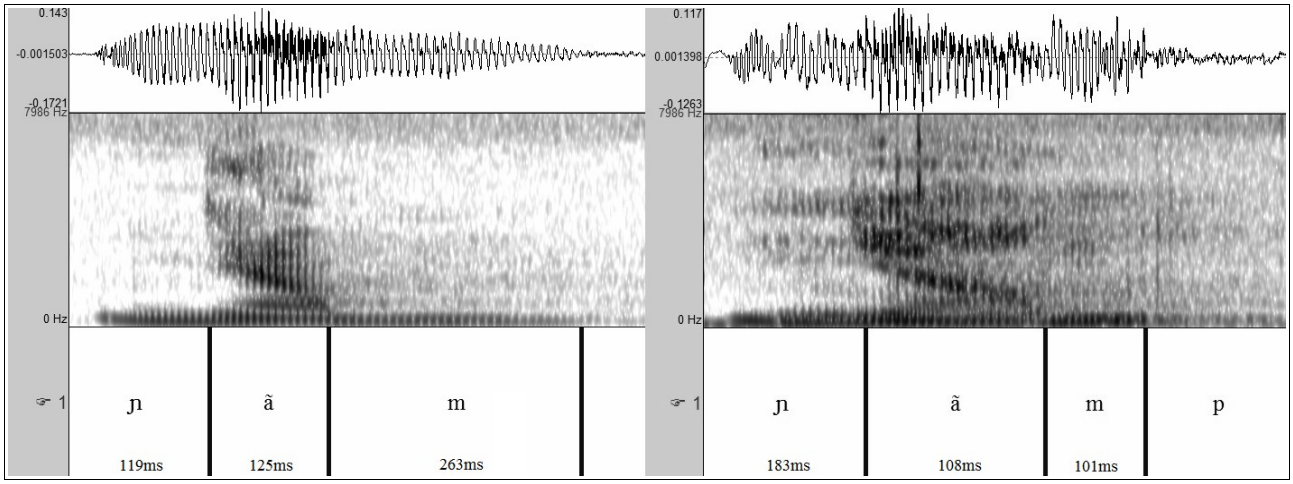
Figure (4): Waveform and spectrogram of [tut]



Prenasalised plosives are also unreleased word-finally. Because of this, they are more similar phonetically to word-final simple nasals than plain plosives (which contain no final nasal segment). The spectrograms in Figure (5) show the minimal pair [ɲãm] 'feeling' and [ɲãᵐp˺] 'not exist'. As can be seen, both lexemes contain final nasalised vowels and neither show evidence of energy that might be associated with the release of a plosive. The two forms can be distinguished, however, by comparing the duration of the nasal segment, which is less than half as long in the prenasalised plosive example on the right (101ms compared to 263ms). In addition, the nasal part of a prenasalised plosive is often produced with creaky voice[39]. This can be seen in the right-hand spectrogram in Figure (5) as slight vertical striations near the end of the nasal segment.

39 This is ultimately followed by closure of the glottis. A narrow transcription of a bilabial prenasalised plosive could therefore be [m̰ʔ].

Figure (5): Waveform and spectrograms of [ɲãm] and [ɲã^{m}p˺]



2.1.1.2 Fricatives

The plain alveolar fricative /s/ (2.6a-c) can occur in any position in Matéq words. The prenasalised alveolar fricative /^{n}s/ (2.7a-b), does not occur word-finally. A near minimal pair showing the contrast between plain and prenasalised alveolar fricatives is given in (2.8).

(2.6) a. [simõpoʔ] 'exit'

b. [ɲũsut] 'ask'

c. [mo^{n}tis] 'yellow'

(2.7) a. [^{n}sidoʔ] 'sweet'

b. [nãmũ^{n}si̲o̲] 'human being'

(2.8) /s/ vs. /^{n}s/ [sinoʔ] 'strike (UV)'

[^{n}si̲o̲ʔ] 'red'

In some morphosyntactic alternations, nasalisation of an alveolar fricative results in a postalveolar nasal instead of the expected alveolar one. An example of this can be seen in the case of verbs that have been prefixed with the homorganic nasal morpheme *N-* (discussed in §4.2.1). This morpheme usually replaces an initial obstruent of a verb stem with a homorganic nasal consonant, as in (2.9a-c). However, in the case of /s/, shown in (2.9d), the verb appears with the postalveolar nasal /ɲ/ rather than the expected alveolar nasal /n/.[40] In this way /s/ patterns with the postalveolar fricatives, such as /ʧ/ in (2.9e).

(2.9) a. [poʤap] cf. [mõʤap]
turned.off AV.turn.off
'turned off' 'turn off (AV)'

b. [tɨntɨh] cf. [nɲ̃ntɨh]
UV.think.about AV.think.about
'think about (UV)' 'think about (AV)'

c. [kopik] cf. [ŋõpik]
ear AV.ear
'ear' 'hear (AV)'

d. [sɨn̪ɨap] cf. [ɲɲ̃n̪ɨap]
UV.drink AV.drink
'drink (UV)' 'drink (AV)'

e. [ʧape?] cf. [ɲõpe?]
UV.pick AV.pick
'pick (UV)' 'pick (AV)'

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ only occurs word-finally, as shown in (2.10a-b). Exceptions to this distribution are found in borrowed lexemes such as [bahasa] 'language' (cf. Indonesian *bahasa* 'language').

(2.10) a. [ᵑkirih]
AV.see
'see'

40 This pattern is also seen in many other western Austronesian languages including: Indonesian (Sneddon 2010), Salako (Adelaar 2005), Mualang (Tjia 2007) and the Sarawak Bidayuh languages (Rensch *et al.* 2012).

b. [sogah]
'young bamboo'

2.1.1.3 Affricates

Plain and prenasalised postalveolar affricates only occur word-initially and intervocalically. (Near) minimal pairs are given in (2.11a-b).

(2.11) a. /ʧ/ vs. /ʤ/ [ʧi] 'this' [mãʧi] 'shout in ear'

[ʤiʤi] 'see (UV)' [mãʤi] 'morning'

/ⁿʧ/ [ʧɨlɨp] 'sink (UV)' [puʧɨlɨp] 'sink (UV)'

[ⁿʧɨlɨp] 'sink (AV)' [puⁿʧɨlɨp] 'person who sinks something'

b. /ʤ/ vs. /ⁿʤ/ [ʤɨa͡ʔ] 'miserable'

[ⁿʤɨa͡ʔ] 'make miserable'

Some speakers show variation in the place and manner of articulation of the plain voiceless affricate. The transcriptions in examples (2.12a-b) show pronunciations of the same word on two different occasions by the same speaker. In (2.12a) the phoneme /ʧ/ is pronounced as a postalveolar affricate, while in (2.12b) it is pronounced as an alveolo-palatal fricative. Figure (6) shows waveforms and spectrograms that correspond to these transcriptions. On the left-hand side, the waveform of (2.12a) shows a clear hold phase followed by a release. This suggests that the manner of articulation is affricate. On the right-hand side, the waveform of (2.12b) shows no closure, suggesting that the manner of articulation is fricative.

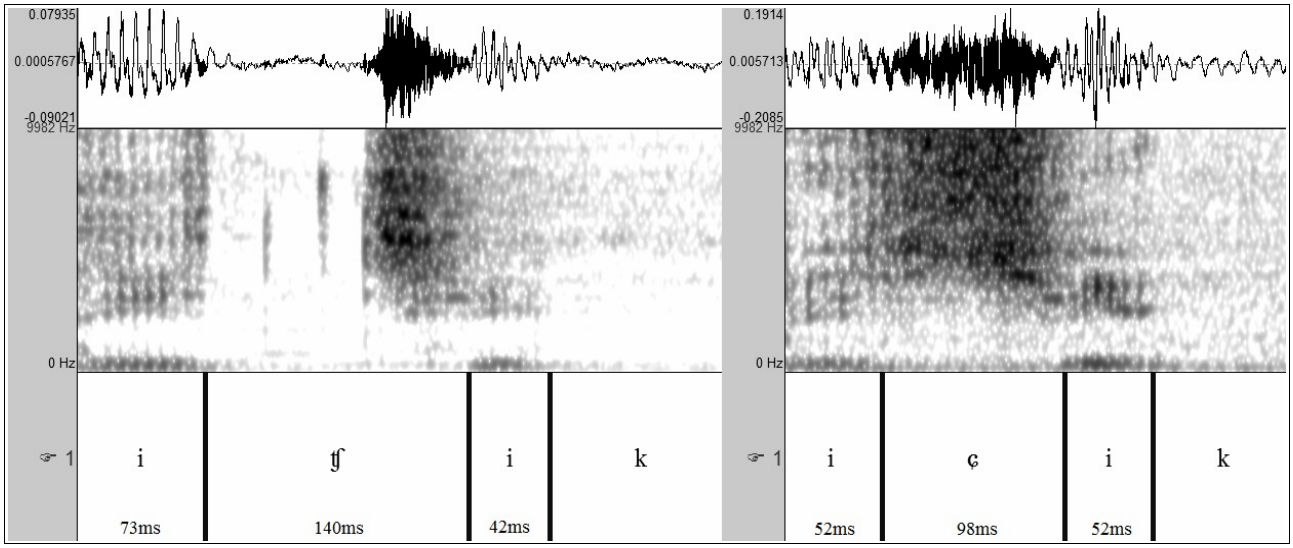
Determining the exact place of articulation of these segments on the basis of their acoustic characteristics alone would require a more in-depth phonetic study, however Jongman *et al.* (2000) point out that comparing the spectral peak location of fricatives is one method that can successfully differentiate their place of articulation. In particular they note that 'spectral peak location […] decreases in frequency as place of articulation moves further back in the oral cavity' (ibid.: 1256). Following the methodology outlined in Jongman *et al.* (2000), the spectral peak of each fricative token in Figure (6) below was measured by recording the highest amplitude peak in an FFT

spectrum generated from a 40ms (Hamming) window placed across the central section of the fricative part of each token. In the case of (2.12a), the spectral peak was located at 5470Hz, while the spectral peak of (2.12b) was recorded at 4802Hz. Although these results do not on their own reveal the exact place of articulation of these segments, the lower value for (2.12b) is consistent with a place of articulation that is further back than (2.12a). This would be expected if (2.12b) was alveolo-palatal while (2.12a) was postalveolar.

(2.12) a. [ditʃikˈ]
small
'small'

b. [diɕikˈ]
small
'small'

Figure (6): Waveforms and spectrograms of [ditʃikˈ] and [diɕikˈ]



There is some evidence for historical palatalisation of plain voiced oral plosives in a few lexemes such as (2.13a). The insertion of the infix *-im-* after the initial /d/ may have lead to the palatalisation of the plosive due to the influence of a following high vowel. This does not appear to be a widespread phenomenon in the Matéq lexicon, as evidenced by the non-palatalised counter-example in (2.13b), and may in fact be limited to certain derived forms.

(2.13) a. [ʤimõjɟ̃ɨh] cf. [dojɨh]
go.up.to.land land
'go up to land' 'land (noun)'

b. [dibuh]
torch
'torch'

2.1.2 Nasals

Nasal consonants in Matéq can be divided into two types: simple nasals and geminate nasals.[41] Simple nasals at bilabial, alveolar and velar places of articulation occur in all positions in Matéq words, although final velar nasals are rare. Postalveolar nasals do not appear word-finally. Some minimal pairs for the nasal consonants are given in (2.14a-f).

(2.14) a. /m/ vs. /n/ [mãⁿta] 'make taboo'
[nãⁿta] 'offer'

b. /m/ vs. /ɲ/ [mɟ̃lɨp] 'sink'
[ɲɟ̃lɨp] 'kill close by'

c. /m/ vs. /ŋ/ [mĩrih] 'buy'
[ŋĩrih] 'assist'

d. /n/ vs. /ɲ/ [nũruh] 'plant (UV)'
[ɲũruh] 'follow animal trail'

41 Unlike some other language varieties in the region such as Mualang (Tjia 2007) and Salako (Adelaar 2005), Matéq does not appear to have 'preploded' nasals (see Blust 1997 for more on preplosion). Matéq cognates generally have plain voiceless plosives in places where preploded nasals occur in other languages, e.g. [burat] 'moon', cf. Měntu Land Dayak /burətn/ 'moon' (Court 1967a:49). A similar situation is found in Urak Lawoi' and may be the result of a progression from nasal to preploded nasal to oral plosive (see Adelaar 1995:95).

e. /n/ vs. /ŋ/ [nãĩs] 'grind'

[ŋãĩs] 'spread out'

f. /ɲ/ vs. /ŋ/ [ɲõkas] 'search for fern'

[ŋõkas] 'pull down'

Nasal consonants that occur in the onset of a non-final syllable predictably cause the following vowel to become nasalised, as in (2.15a).[42] Here the first vowel /o/ is nasalised following the nasal consonant /m/. This can be contrasted with (2.15b), where there is no nasal consonant and no vowel nasalisation occurs. When nasalisation does occur, it can be sustained across subsequent syllables, provided that either the onset of those syllables contains a glide or there is no intervening consonant.[43] This can be seen in (2.16a-b), where the second vowel in both examples is nasalised. In (2.16b) the glide /j/ also shows nasalisation and the final voiceless plosive is prenasalised, as expected following a nasal vowel. Example (2.16c) shows that in connected speech this may also apply across word boundaries.

(2.15) a. [mõ^{n}tis]
yellow
'yellow'

b. [po^{n}tis]
wax
'wax'

(2.16) a. [nõĩ^{n}t]
AV.hang
'hang'

b. [ɲɨ̃ɲɨ̃^{m}p]
AV.spray
'spray'

42 An exception to this is the placename [kəmayat] 'Kembayan'. See (2.19a) below.

43 An exception to this is the lexeme [mõji̯at] ' left', where the final syllable vowel is oral.

c. /ɲo at/ > [ɲõãⁿt]
person that
'that person'

As just seen, a vowel is predictably nasalised after a non-final onset nasal consonant. However, when a nasal consonant occurs in the onset of a final syllable, nasalisation is not predictable. Examples (2.17a-b) show two lexemes with nasal consonants in the onset of their final syllables. In (2.17a) the vowel following the alveolar nasal /n/ is nasalised and the final plosive is prenasalised, as expected following a nasal vowel. In (2.17b), on the other hand, the vowel following the alveolar nasal is oral and the final plosive is plain, as expected following an oral vowel. The resulting contrast in vowel nasality is analysed in this study as a phonemic distinction between nasal and oral vowels in final syllables. This is described further in (§2.2) below.

(2.17) a. [ŋãn̰ɨ̃ãᵐp]
AV.hunt
'hunt'

b. [ɲɨ̃nɨa̰p]
AV.drink
'drink'

A likely historical source of the distinction between nasal and oral vowels in final syllables in Matéq could be the reduction of historical nasal–voiced obstruent clusters in an earlier Land Dayak speech variety.[44] Several lexemes that contain oral vowels in their final syllables are presented in (2.18), along with their reconstructed Proto Land Dayak forms (as given in Rensch *et al.* 2012:410-14). As can be seen, the reconstructed forms contain nasal–obstruent clusters in the onset of their final syllables, while the Matéq forms contain simple nasals followed by oral vowels. Rensch *et al.* (2012:67ff) describe a similar pattern observed in the Bidayuh languages of Sarawak,[45] and suggest that over time the obstruent segments of these historical clusters have weakened and dropped out, leaving only a 'lingering residue of the voiced obstruent' in the form of orality of the following vowel. In Matéq, this has arguably resulted in the development of phonemic vowel nasality in final syllables.[46]

44 Nasal–voiceless obstruent clusters in the onset of final syllables are still represented in Matéq by voiceless prenasalised plosives, e.g. [oᵐpɨk] 'village'. Note that these are not considered clusters in this study, as discussed in sections (§2.1.1.1) and (§2.3).

45 Scott (1964) and Tjia (2007:24f) also describe similar patterns in Bukar-Sadong Land Dayak and Mualang, respectively. Unlike in Matéq, the nasal–obstruent sequences in these languages can still apparently be considered consonant clusters that occur across syllable boundaries.

46 Rensch *et al.* (2012:67) note that nasal–voiced obstruent clusters may have historically occurred most frequently at

(2.18)	Proto Land Dayak	Matéq	
	**kămbət	[kɨmɨt]	'forget'
	**ŋəndəy	[ŋɲ̃nɨi]	'stay'
	**ănjan[47]	[uɲat]	'ladder'

A similar reduction seems to have occurred in several Matéq forms of regional placenames. Two of these are given in (2.19a-b) on the left, along with the equivalent Indonesian forms on the right. In the Matéq forms a simple nasal consonant is followed by an oral vowel, while in the Indonesian forms there is a nasal–voiced obstruent cluster.

(2.19)	a.	[kəmajat] 'Kembayan' (Matéq)	cf.	[kəmbajan] 'Kembayan' (Indonesian)
	b.	[saŋou] 'Sanggau' (Matéq)	cf.	[saŋgau] 'Sanggau' (Indonesian)

Interestingly, this proposal may provide a clue as to the reason behind the absence of word-medial prenasalised voiced plosives in Matéq noted above, since all nasal–voiced obstruent sequences in this position would presumably have been reduced to simple nasals followed by oral vowels.

The second type of nasal consonant in Matéq are the geminate nasals, shown in (2.20a-b). These are attested at bilabial and alveolar places of articulation. Geminate nasals only occur in word-initial position in monosyllabic words. They are thus, in one sense, in complementary distribution with prenasalised voiced plosives, which only occur word-initially in polysyllabic words. Another feature of geminate nasals is that they are always followed by oral vowels.

(2.20)	a.	[m:oʔ] 'older sibling'
	b.	[n:u͡a] 'nose'

'the junction of the penult and ultima'. This may explain why phonemic nasality is only found in final syllables in Matéq.

47 <j> in Rensch's *et al.* (2012) reconstruction of Proto Land Dayak represents [ʤ].

In phonetic terms, geminate nasals are significantly longer in duration than simple nasals, as can be seen from the measurements in Table (2) below. The durations in this table were averaged from 3 tokens of each nasal recorded in the speech of a single speaker. Measurements were taken from the start and end point of the low frequency nasal energy that was observed in spectrograms of each token. The resulting mean durations shown in Table (2) reveal that the geminate nasals were on average 60-100ms longer than simple nasals at the same place of articulation. Some minimal pairs between simple and geminate nasals are given in (2.21a-b).

Table (2): Word-initial simple and geminate nasal mean duration (ms)[48]

	Simple	**Geminate**
Bilabial	118.1	181.9
Alveolar	79.7	189

(2.21) a. /m/ vs. /m:/ [mõʔ] 'overripe'

[m:oʔ] 'older sibling'

b. /n/ vs. /n:/ [nĩh] 'go on! (discourse marker)'

[n:ih] 'remnant'

Rensch *et al.* (2012) note the presence of geminate nasals in some Bidayuh languages of Sarawak. As with the intervocalic clusters discussed above, they propose that these forms are the result of a historical process of word-initial nasal–voiced obstruent cluster reduction. For instance, they reconstruct the Proto Land Dayak forms **mbuʔ 'older sibling' and **induŋ 'nose' (ibid.:410-14). When these are compared with (2.20a-b) above, it can be seen that where the Proto Land Dayak reconstructions have a cluster, the Matéq forms show geminate nasals. This origin could possibly explain why geminate nasals are followed by oral vowels, assuming a similar 'lingering residue' of the original plosive is retained. Interestingly, if this reduction has indeed taken place it appears to have only affected monosyllabic words.[49] This may explain why geminate nasals are found word-initially in monosyllabic words, while the nasal–obstruent sequences (which are analysed here

48 Mean length was calculated from measurements of the following tokens: [mãŋɨn] 116.4ms, [mãⁿt] 141.9ms, [mãrit] 96ms, [m:at] 145ms, [m:u̯at] 227.4ms, [m:u̯at] 173.3ms, [nãdɨa̯ʔ] 105.7ms, [nẽtek] 44.8ms, [nõtaʔ] 88.5ms, [n:at] 217.4ms, [n:ɨm] 168.3ms, [n:ɨʔ] 181.3ms.

49 Why this should be the case is not clear at this stage. Further historical-comparative research may reveal what factors affected the proposed historical development of geminate nasals.

synchronically as prenasalised plosives) are preserved word-initially in polysyllabic words.

2.1.3 Liquids and Glides

The two liquids, /l/ and /r/, occur in all positions in Matéq words, as shown in (2.22a-c) and (2.23a-c). A minimal pair showing them in intervocalic position is given in (2.24).

(2.22) a. [likoʔ]
'bend'

b. [sila]
'sitting cross-legged'

c. [adʒal]
'play'

(2.23) a. [rinãn]
'neck'

b. [mĩris]
AV.twist
'twist (AV)'

c. [mɨ̃bɨr]
'fly'

(2.24) /r/ vs. /l/ [karaʔ] 'split open (UV)'

[kalaʔ] 'wood block'

There are also two glides in Matéq: bilabial /w/ and postalveolar /j/. These glides are only found in word-medial position (2.25a-c).[50] The postalveolar glide /j/ is attested before high, mid and low vowels, while the bilabial glide /w/ is not attested before high vowels. Both glides appear before front and back vowels, although /w/ is not attested before /u/.

50 One lexeme contains the postalveolar glide /j/ in word-initial position: [jɨjɨp] 'kind of small bat'.

(2.25) a. [ʤawoʔ]
'watermelon'

b. [pajɨh]
'drying rack'

c. [mõji̯at]
'left'

Some speakers show variation in their pronunciation between a nasalised postalveolar glide [j̃] and a postalveolar nasal [ɲ] in certain lexemes, such as (2.26a).[51] This variation may be dialectal or age-based, given that the nasalised palatal glide variant generally occurs in the speech of older speakers from the *Bi Uwah Bunuo* dialect group. It is important to note that the glide and nasal are lexically contrastive in many other cases, such as with the pair in (2.26b). No variation was recorded in the pronunciation of the postalveolar consonants in these lexemes.

(2.26) a. [mĩɲãʔ] ~ [mĩj̃ãʔ]
AV.use
'use (AV)'

b. [ŋõɲũ]
AV.head.hunt
'head-hunt (AV)'

cf. [ŋõj̃ũ]
AV.scratch
'scratch (AV)'

2.2 Vowels

There are 14 vowel phonemes in Matéq. These can be divided into a set of oral vowels and a set of nasal vowels, each of which contains 7 segments. In each set there are two front vowels, high and mid-high, and two central vowels, high and low. All of the front vowels and central vowels are unrounded. The three remaining vowels are all rounded back vowels: high,[52] mid-high and mid-low. The vowel phonemes of Matéq can be schematically represented as in Table (3) and some minimal and near minimal pairs are given in (2.27a-f).[53]

51 See (§2.2) for more on vowel and glide nasality.

52 The high back vowel was sometimes fronted [ʉ] or unrounded [ɯ] in natural speech.

53 Accidental gaps in minimal pairs for vowels: /ɔ/ vs. /ɔ̃/, /i/, /ɨ/ and /e/ as well as /e/ vs. /ɨ/ and /u/.

Table (3): Vowel Phonemes of Matéq

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
High	i ĩ	ɨ ɨ̃	u ũ
Mid-high	e ẽ		o õ
Mid-low			ɔ ɔ̃
Low		a ã	

(2.27) a. /i/ vs. /ĩ/ [kuni] 'kind of insect' [kunĩ] 'bottle'

/e/ [aʤih] 'happen' [aʤeh] 'repeatedly'

/a/ [pit] 'water' [pat] 'kind of rattan'

/ɨ/ [ŋõpik] 'listen' [ŋõpɨk] 'cut'

/u/ [pit] 'water' [put] 'bottom'

/o/ [mõriʔ] 'return home' [mõroʔ] 'forbid'

b. /e/ vs. /ẽ/ [emer] 'bucket' [omẽʔ] 'we (1pl excl.)'

/o/ [ᵑ͡kaseʔ] 'sneeze' [ᵑ͡kasoʔ] 'barren'

/a/ [mãseʔ] 'pity' [mãsaʔ] 'insert pegs into'

c. /ɨ/ vs. /ɨ̃/ [nɨ̃ŋɨh] 'argue' [nɨ̃ŋɨ̃h] 'gawai time'

/u/ [kaⁿ͡tɨk] 'leave behind (UV)' [kaⁿ͡tuk] 'hit with stick (UV)'

/a/ [popɨt] 'base of branch' [popat] 'breadth'

/o/ [oᵐ͡pɨk] 'village' [oᵐ͡pok] 'gluttinously'

d. /a/ vs. /ã/ [tuma] 'fall over' [tumã] 'orphan'

/u/ [pat] 'kind of rattan' [put] 'bottom'

/o/ [ʤoraʔ] 'deer' [ʤoroʔ] 'painful'

/ɔ/ [tataʔ] 'break open (UV)' [tatɔʔ] 'add broth (UV)'

e. /u/ vs. /ũ/ [kulamu] 'mosquito net' [kulamũn] 'careful'[54]

/o/ [mõ^{n}tuk] 'hit' [mõ^{n}tok] 'cook in leaf-wrapper'

/ɔ/ [tatuʔ] 'TOA for male child' [tatɔʔ] 'add broth (UV)'

f. /o/ vs. /õ/ [sinoʔ] 'kind of small knife' [sinõʔ] 'strike'

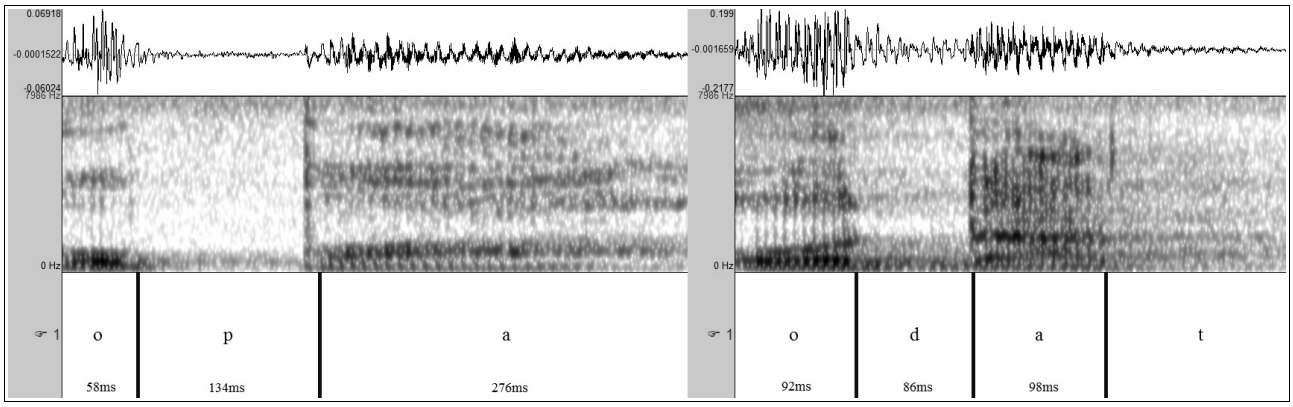
/ɔ/ [papoʔ] 'wash (UV)' [papɔʔ] 'pre-chew (UV)'

Vowels are phonetically longer when they occur in word-final open syllables, such as in (2.28a). This can be compared to (2.28b) where the vowel occurs in a word-final closed syllable and is shorter. The duration of each low central vowel /a/ can be seen in the spectrograms in Figure (7). As noted in (§2.4) below, both closed and open word-final syllables are stressed.

(2.28) a. [kopa:]
'thick'

b. [odat]
'name'

Figure (7): Waveforms and spectrograms of [opa:] from [kopa:] and [odat]



The distribution of vowels in Matéq is restricted according to the position and type of syllable in a word (see §2.3 for more on syllable structure). This can be represented schematically as in Table (4) below. As can be seen, final syllables may be open or closed, while non-final syllables are always open. Consonants that are attested in coda position are plain voiceless plosives, fricatives, nasals

54 The exact definition of this lexeme is unclear.

and liquids, i.e. [p, t, k, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, r, l].[55]

Any vowel, nasal or oral, may appear in a final open syllable or in a final closed syllable, provided that the onset is a nasal consonant and the coda is a plain or prenasalised voiceless plosive, liquid or glottal consonant. The nasal vowel phonemes do not occur when the onset of the final syllable consists of a oral consonant.

It can also be noted that the mid-high front vowel [e] and mid-low back vowel [ɔ] only occur in final syllables when the coda consists of a voiceless plosive, liquid or glottal consonant (i.e. they are not found before word-final [m, n, ŋ, s]).[56] They also occur in non-final syllables, but only when the final syllable contains a vowel of the same or similar quality (see below).

In non-final syllables, oral vowels are predictably nasalised after a nasal consonant, as discussed in (§2.1.2) above. In these cases the nasal/oral vowel distinction is not phonemically contrastive.

Table (4): Vowel distribution across syllables

	Preantepenultimate	**Antepenultimate**	**Penultimate**	**Final**	
				Non-nasal onset	**Nasal onset**
Open	i o a	i u (e) (ə) a	i (ɨ) u (e) o (ɔ) a	i ɨ u e o ɔ a	i ĩ ɨ ɨ̃ u ũ e ẽ o õ ɔ ɔ̃ a ã
Closed with /p, t, k, ᵐp, ⁿt, ᵑk, h, ʔ, r, l/	-	-	-	i ɨ u e o ɔ a	i ĩ ɨ ɨ̃ u ũ e ẽ o õ ɔ ɔ̃ a ã
Closed with /m, n, ŋ, s/	-	-	-	i ɨ u o a	i ĩ ɨ ɨ̃ u ũ o õ a ã

A further restriction in distribution is seen with the mid-high front vowel /e/, high central vowel /ɨ/ and mid-low back vowel /ɔ/ in penultimate syllables, shown inside brackets in the table above. In this position they only appear when a vowel of similar or identical quality is present in the final syllable of the same word, as exemplified in (2.29a-d).[57] In contrast to this pattern, other vowels

55 As mentioned in Footnote (32) earlier, the plain voiced bilabial plosive /b/ is also attested word-finally in one borrowed lexeme. For the purposes of simplicity this instance will be treated as marginal and is not included here.

56 The same is true of the /a/-gliding diphthongs, see (§2.2.1) below.

57 This pattern could be the result of an historical process of vowel harmony. Possible further evidence of vowel

may appear in penultimate syllables regardless of the quality of the final syllable vowel.

(2.29) a. [nẽteʔ]
AV.ringbark
'ringbark'

b. [mɨ̃ⁿtɨk]
left.behind
'left behind'

c. [mɨ̃dɨ̯ap]
live
'live, be alive'

d. [mɔ̃pɔʔ]
AV.premasticate
'pre-chew'

In antepenultimate syllables only the high front vowel /i/, low central vowel /a/ and high back vowel /u/ are regularly attested. The mid-high front vowel /e/, shown in brackets in Table (4) above, appears as a variant of antepenultimate /i/ twice in the dataset: [neroseh] 'cleaned' and [nelepet] 'squashed' (see Footnote 57).

A small number of lexemes, including those in (2.30a-b), contain a central vowel [ə] in their antepenultimate syllables. This may suggest the existence of a central vowel phoneme. However, in light of the process of unstressed vowel reduction (discussed in §2.5 below) it seems more likely that these examples are instances of vowel reduction, where only tokens of the lexeme occurring with a reduced vowel were recorded in the data.

(2.30) a. [gəraduk]
'tadpole'

b. [kəlepet]
'squash'

harmony can be seen in two tokens: [neroseh] < *ni-roséh* 'cleaned' and [nelepet] < *ni-lépét* 'squashed'. In both cases the first vowel changes from [i] to [e] in harmony with the final-syllable vowel [e]. Despite this, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to claim that vowel harmony is a common synchronic process in Matéq, so it is not described in detail here. Further research, however, may reveal that this process is more widespread than the data collected for this description suggest.

In preantepenultimate syllables, only the high front vowel /i/, the low central vowel /a/ and the mid-high back vowel /o/ are attested. Each of these occur in prefixes that attach to stems, forming polysyllabic words.[58]

2.2.1 Diphthongs

There are 11 attested vowel-glide diphthongs in Matéq. These diphthongs glide towards either /i/, /a/, /o/ or /u/. A list of attested diphthongs is given in (2.31). Diphthongs are represented throughout this chapter with tiebars so as to differentiate them from sequences of consecutive vowels.

(2.31) [i͡i, a͡i, o͡i, i͡a, ɨ͡a, u͡a, i͡o, a͡o, i͡u, a͡u, o͡u]

As seen in (2.31), there are 3 diphthongs that glide towards /a/ in Matéq. All three of these are the shortest in terms of duration, with [i͡a] and [u͡a] being less than half the duration of other diphthongs. This can be seen in the measurements of mean duration given in Table (5) (/a/-gliding diphthongs are emboldened). These measurements were taken from multiple tokens of each diphthong from the speech of a single speaker.

58 There are no known examples of underived word-stems of 4 or more syllables.

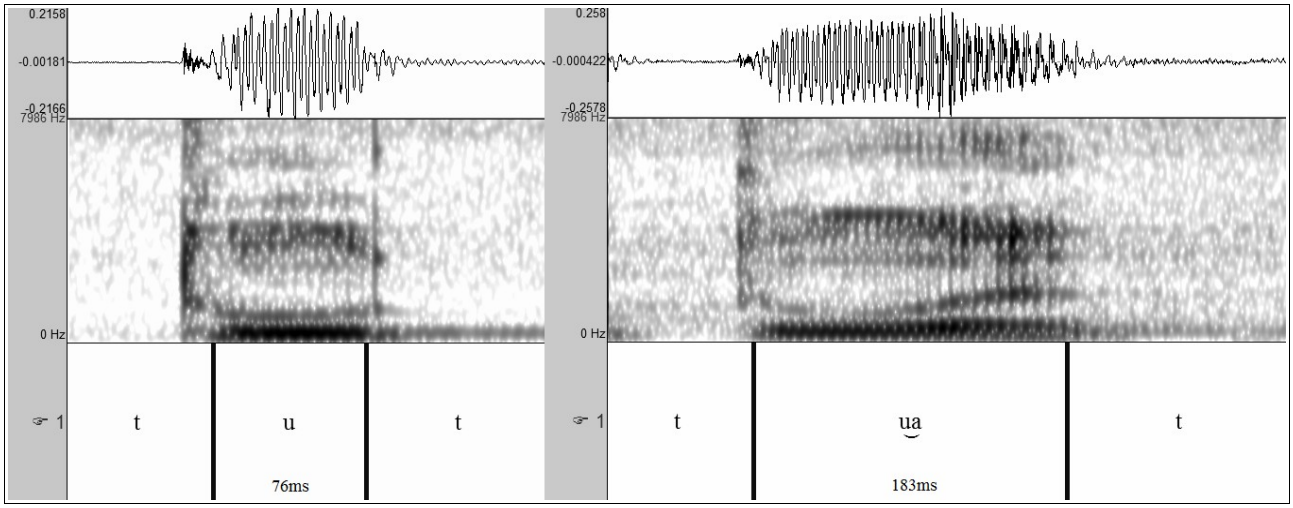
Table (5): Diphthong Duration[59]

Phoneme	Mean Duration (ms)
[i̯i]	266.3
[a̯i]	290.3
[i̯a]	**136.1**
[ɨ̯a]	**175.8**
[u̯a]	**145**
[i̯o]	218.8
[a̯o]	230.7
[i̯u]	250.2
[a̯u]	243.3
[o̯u]	242.3

If the /a/-gliding diphthongs are compared with plain vowels of a similar quality, a number of phonetic differences can be observed. The spectrograms in Figure (8) reveal that the diphthong (on the right) shows a distinct raising of F2 near the end of the segment. This corresponds to forward movement of the tongue as it transitions from the back vowel nucleus [u] towards the central vowel [a]. In contrast, the plain vowel (on the left) has steady formants throughout its period. The /a/-gliding diphthong is also longer in duration than the plain vowel (183ms as opposed to 76ms). Minimal pairs between the /a/-gliding diphthongs and plain vowels are given in (2.32a-c).

59 Mean duration was calculated from measurements of the following tokens: [babi̯i] 308.5ms, [baⁿkɨ̯i] 163.9ms, [tati̯i] 326.4ms, [ika̯i] 263.7ms, [ka̯i] 316.8ms, [dika̯t] 112.6ms, [koka̯h] 119.8ms, [sapia̯l] 176ms, [latɨ̯ap] 154.6ms, [sakɨ̯at] 123.5ms, [nãdɨ̯aʔ] 249.4ms, [bubu̯at] 111.9ms, [kutu̯at] 182.7ms, [tabu̯at] 140.4ms, [nãmũⁿsi̯o] 405.4ms, [nãmũⁿsi̯o] 118.6ms, [nãmũⁿsi̯o] 132.4ms, [ba̯oʔ] 207.8ms, [ba̯oʔ] 233.4ms, [pa̯ot] 251ms, [ʧi̯uh] 296.8ms, [ʧi̯uh] 292.5ms, [ʧi̯uh] 161.3ms, [ba̯uh] 237.2ms, [ba̯uh] 260.5ms, [ta̯uʔ] 232.1ms, [do̯ut] 198.3ms, [nõto̯u] 267.4ms, [to̯uh] 261.2ms. Gaps in the data include tokens for [o̯i] and a third token for [a̯i].

Figure (8): Waveforms and spectrograms of [tut] 'kind of animal' and [tu̯at] from /kutu̯at/ 'knee'



(2.32) a. /i̯a/ vs. /i/ [pi̯at] 'sparrow'

[pit] 'water'

b. /ɨ̯a/ vs. /ɨ/ [mɨ̃dɨ̯ap] 'live'

[mɨ̃dɨp] 'close eyes'

c. /u̯a/ vs./u/ [boru̯at] 'remainder'

[borut] 'roll'

Diphthongs only appear in final syllables in Matéq words. Those that glide towards /a/ are subject to the same restrictions in distribution as noted for the monophthongs /e/ and /ɔ/ above. That is, they only occur in final open syllables or final closed syllables when the coda is a voiceless plosive, liquid or glottal consonant. Other diphthongs do not appear to follow this pattern, with tokens of a diphthong gliding towards either [i], [o] or [u] attested in final closed syllables before [s] or [n].

2.3 Syllable Structure

All syllables in Matéq contain a vocalic nucleus (V), which may consist of a monophthong or diphthong.[60] Many syllables also have an onset, which may consist of a single consonant (C). Only

60 Sequences of two consecutive vowels that belong to separate syllables in a single word can be differentiated from phonetically similar diphthongs by the placement of stress, see (§2.4).

word-final syllables in Matéq appear with a coda, which may consist of a plain voiceless plosive, fricative, nasal or liquid: [p, t, k, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, r, l]. No consonant clusters are permitted in Matéq words, except in cases of reduction in natural speech (see §2.5).[61]

Monosyllables

(C)V(C)

VC	[at]	'that'
CV	[ra]	'lower jaw bone'
	[ᵐpu̯a]	'caterpillar'
CVC	[pit]	'water'
	[ᵑkap]	'kind of small insect'

Disyllables

(C)V.(C)V(C)

V.V	[o.i]	'be many'
V.CV	[i.ʤu]	'kind of fish trap'
	[u.ᵑki]	'tail'
V.CVC	[i.duh]	'grass'
	[o.ᵐpɨk]	'village'
CV.V	[ba.i]	'machete'
CV.VC	[bo.uh]	'eagle'
	[ⁿto.ut]	'tornado'
CV.CV	[ro.mã]	'cloud'
	[ⁿtu.ru]	'egg'
	[mũ.ⁿti]	'kind of small bamboo'
CV.CVC	[su.kuh]	'elbow'
	[ᵑko.rap]	'kind of red fruit'
	[mõ.ⁿtis]	'yellow'

61 Prenasalised obstruents are analysed as single segments in this study. See (§2.1.1.1).

Trisyllables

(C)V.(C)V.(C)V(C)

V.CV.CVC	[i.ba.rat]	'like'
CV.V.CV	[bu.o.pi]	'burn' (derived)
CV.V.CVC	[bu.o.^{m}pɨk]	'long' (derived)
CV.CV.V	[ku.do.i]	'size' (derived)
CV.CV.VC	[ku.ko.ih]	'other side of' (derived)
CV.CV.CV	[ti.li.ŋũ]	'window'
	[ʧi.bi.^{n}ta]	'star'
	[ri.^{m}pu.du]	'crown of hair'
CV.CV.CVC	[ʤi.ro.jat]	'kind of rattan fruit'
	[pa.ʤi.^{m}pek]	'run away' (possibly derived)
	[ʧi.^{ŋ}ko.rɨa͡p]	'firefly'
	[^{m}pu.ra.mua͡t]	'spear'

Quadrisyllables

(C)V.(C)V.(C)V.(C)V(C)

CV.CV.CV.CV	[ba.ri.ka.jo]	'each'
CV.CV.CV.CVC	[pa.ri.ki.tok]	'crackle' (derived)
	[si.li.mĩ.^{n}sia͡r]	'space between spinal vertebrae'
	[ko.wa.^{ŋ}ko.lek]	'owl' (or parimpinong)

2.4 Stress

Stress in Matéq is generally predictable in that it falls on the final syllable of polysyllabic lexemes, as shown in examples (2.33a-c). In some cases stress may appear unpredictably on the penultimate syllable of a word, as in (2.34). Stressed syllables are typically louder and/or longer than unstressed ones, although stress is not prominent in Matéq.

(2.33) a. [o.'i]
be.many
'many'

b. [mɨ̃.'dɨ͡ap]
live
'live, be alive'

c. [ʧi.bi.'^{n}ta]
live
'live, be alive'

(2.34) [bu.'ʤa.lat]
BU-walk
'walk'

Sequences of two consecutive vowels in Matéq can be analysed as either diphthongs, forming the nucleus of a single syllable, or two separate vowels, forming the nuclei of two syllables. Lexemes with these sequences, such as (2.35a) and (2.36a) below, are therefore potentially ambiguous in terms of syllabification.

(2.35) a. [bai] = CV or CV.V
'machete'

(2.36) a. [nõtou] = CV.CV or CV.CV.V
AV.laugh
'laugh'

This ambiguity can be resolved by considering the placement of stress in each lexeme. Given that stress usually falls on final syllables, VV sequences where the stress is on the second of the two vowels can be analysed as disyllabic, as in (2.35b). If stress falls on the first of the two vowels however, as in (2.36b), the sequence can be analysed as a diphthong.

(2.35) b. [ba.'i] = CV.V
'machete'

(2.36) b. [nõ.'to͡u] = CV.CV
AV.laugh
'laugh'

2.5 Vowel Processes

Two variable vowel processes frequently occur in natural speech in Matéq: vowel reduction (or deletion) and [i]-epenthesis. The first of these, vowel reduction, occurs with non-stressed vowels in natural speech. These can be reduced to [ə], pronounced as a glide, or elided entirely as in (2.37a-c). In (2.37a) for instance, the vowel [i] in the first syllable can be optionally deleted, resulting in a disyllabic realisation of an underlyingly trisyllabic word. In cases like (2.37b) where there are two consecutive vowels, the first vowel may be reduced in duration to become an offglide of the preceding plosive – in (2.37b) this results in variation between the disyllabic sequence [uo] and the monosyllabic [wo]. Vowel reduction and deletion is also attested across entire clauses, as in (2.37c).

(2.37) a. /sitogal/ > [sto.gal] ~ [si.to.gal]
one.moment
'one moment'

b. /buoʔ/ > [bʷoʔ] ~ [bu.oʔ]
fruit
'fruit'

c. /teʔ koʔ ɲidʒi ŋeh/ > [teʔ.kəɲ.dʒiŋ] ~ [teʔ.koʔ.ɲĩ.dʒi.ŋẽh]
here 1SG AV.see 3
'I saw it here'

One common instance of vowel reduction occurs with the 3rd person pronoun *ngéh/néh*, as shown in (2.37c). This pronoun may appear in its full form as in (2.38), but in natural speech it is most commonly reduced as in (2.39a-d). Often the vowel and fricative are completely elided, leaving only the nasal consonant. In some cases the glottal fricative is retained, as in (2.39c), although it is unclear at this stage what factors determine its retention. The resulting reduced pronoun cliticises onto the preceding word, and its nasal consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding consonant.

(2.38) /suᵑkuh ŋeh/ > [suᵑkuhŋẽh]
grandchild 3
'her grandchildren' (MS2.14)

(2.39) a. /podʒa ŋeh/ > /podʒa=ŋ/ > [podʒaŋ]
basket 3
'his basket' (BD.24)

b. /seket ŋeh/ > /seket=n/ > [seketn]
knife 3
'his knife' (BD.47)

c. /umur ŋeh/ > /umur=n^{h}/ > [umũrn^{h}]
age 3
'his age' (ES2.30)

d. /gegep ŋeh/ > /gegep=m/ > [gegepm]
beard 3
'his beard' (OT.47)

Vowel reduction in Matéq also affects the relativiser *diq* when it occurs before a vowel-initial pronoun as in (2.40a-c). In these cases the high front vowel [i] and glottal stop of the relativiser can be optionally deleted. This deletion cannot occur when the pronoun begins with a consonant, as in (2.40d).

(2.40) a. /diʔ oko?/ > [doko?] ~ [diʔoko?]
REL 1SG
'mine'

b. /diʔ omu?/ > [domũ?] ~ [diʔomũ?]
REL 2SG
'yours'

c. /diʔ adi͡ap=ŋeh/ > [dadi͡apm] ~ [diʔadi͡apm]
REL 3SG
'his, hers, its'

d. /diʔ dat=ŋeh/ > [diʔ datn]
REL 3PL
'theirs'

Vowel reduction is also attested with diphthongs. In some cases, such as (2.41a-c), diphthongs may be phonetically reduced to a monophthong in natural speech. In (2.41a) and (2.41b) the monophthong can be considered to be a merger of the nucleus and glide-vowel of the original

diphthong. Example (2.41d) shows an instance where two consecutive vowels, which usually form the nuclei of two distinct syllables, are phonetically reduced to form a diphthong. This results in the loss of a syllable in the pronounced form.

(2.41) a. /tojua͡=ŋ/ > [tojoŋ] ~ [toju͡əŋ]
grandmother=3
'his grandmother' (S2.41)

b. /ai͡ʔ/ > [eʔ] ~ [ai͡ʔ]
that
'that' (MS3.74)

c. /tau͡ʔ/ > [tuʔ] ~ [tau͡ʔ]
be.able
'be able' (MS3.224)

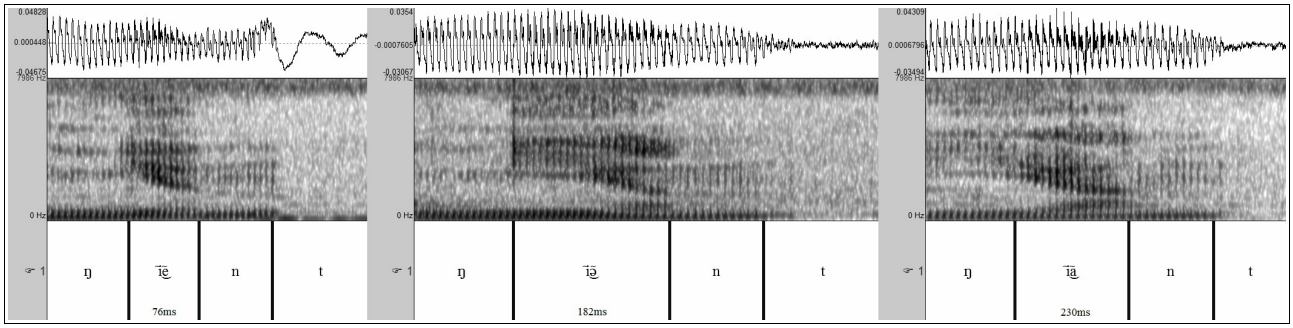
d. /bauh/ > [bau͡h] ~ [bauh]
new
'new'

Diphthongs that glide towards /a/ show further evidence of reduction in the realisation of their glide-vowel. This vowel may be variably pronounced as [e], [ə] or [a], with the most common variant being [ə]. This variation can be seen in the transcriptions in (2.42), which are based on tokens collected at different times from the speech of a single speaker. Spectrograms of the final syllable of each token are shown in Figure (9). In each case the spectrogram reveals an opening of the vowel-sound near the end of the diphthong segment, indicated by a raising of F1. The difference between each variant can be described as variation in the extent to which this opening occurs. Interestingly the left-hand token, which has the glide-vowel [e], is considerably shorter in duration than the other two tokens (76ms compared to 182ms for [ĩə͡] and 230ms for [ĩa͡]). Given that, in terms of articulation, [e] is the closest variant to the nucleus-vowel [i], it is perhaps not surprising that it appears in this token, since there could have presumably been insufficient time for the glide-vowel to be lowered further. However, without a more detailed study, it is difficult to determine exactly what factors are involved in the appearance of a particular variant in any given utterance.[62]

62 One pattern may be noted on the basis of data collected during this study, namely that lexemes where the diphthong is nasalised (such as in *rongiant* above) seem more likely to contain a mid-high glide-vowel [e].

(2.42) [roŋĩẽ^{n}tˀ] ~ [roŋĩə̃^{n}tˀ] ~ [roŋĩã^{n}tˀ]
sky sky sky
'sky' 'sky' 'sky'

Figure (9): Waveforms and spectrograms of the final syllables of [roŋĩẽ^{n}tˀ], [roŋĩə̃^{n}tˀ] and [roŋĩã^{n}tˀ] 'sky'



In addition to reduction, the vowel process of [i]-epenthesis is attested in Matéq. This generally occurs in careful speech and results in the insertion of a high front vowel [i], as seen in (2.43). The lexeme in this case is almost certainly a borrowing from English, probably through Indonesian. The initial consonant cluster is permissible in informal speech but is broken up in careful speech by the insertion of [i]. This phenomenon is presumably related to the restriction on consonant clusters in syllable onsets, see (§2.4).

(2.43) [stop] ~ [sitop]
'stop'
(informal speech) (careful speech)

2.6 Orthography

The orthography adopted for the remainder of this sketch grammar is presented in Tables (6)-(9), which show the graphemes used to represent each of the sounds in the Matéq phoneme inventory.

Table (6): Plain consonant graphemes

Phoneme	p	b	t	d	k	g	ʔ	s	h	ʧ	ʤ	m	m:	n	n:	ɲ	ŋ	r	l	w	j
Grapheme	*p*	*b*	*t*	*d*	*k*	*g*	*q*	*s*	*h*	*c*	*j*	*m*	*mm*	*n*	*nn*	*ny*	*ng*	*r*	*l*	*w*	*y*

Table (7): Prenasalised consonant graphemes

Phoneme	ᵐp ᵐb ⁿt ⁿd ᵑk ᵑg ⁿs ᶮʧ ᶮʤ
Grapheme	*mp mb nt nd ngk ngg ns nc nj*

Table (8): Vowel graphemes

Phoneme	i e ɨ a o ɔ u
Grapheme	*i é e a o ó u*

Table (9): Diphthong graphemes

Phoneme	i̯i a̯i o̯i i̯a ɨ̯a u̯a i̯o a̯o i̯u a̯u o̯u
Grapheme	*ei ai oi ia ea ua io ao iu au ou*

As mentioned in (§1.3), there is as yet no established standard orthography for writing Matéq. Speakers who write text in Matéq typically adapt the standard Indonesian spelling system according to their needs. I have attempted to continue that tradition here as much as possible. For instance, in Indonesian orthography the graphemes *c* and *j* are used to represent the voiceless and voiced palatal affricates, respectively. I have therefore used them here to represent the voiceless and voiced postalveolar affricates in Matéq. Given that the Matéq phoneme inventory differs significantly from the Indonesian one, it was necessary to include some additional graphemes, such as *q* to represent a glottal stop, *é* to consistently represent a mid-high front vowel[63] and *ó* to represent a mid-low back vowel. In addition, prenasalised plosives are represented by a combination of nasal and plosive graphemes, e.g. *ngk*. These additions result in the following orthographic forms for the lexemes given in (2.44a-c). Note that all orthographic representations of Matéq words in this study are presented in italics.

(2.44) a. [ᵑkaleʔ] > *ngkaléq*
'be very'

b. [mãʧa] > *maca*
'kind of sour fruit'

c. [ᵐpɔŋɔ̃ʔ] > *mpóngóq*
'visit'

63 The grapheme *e* is used ambiguously in Indonesian orthography to represent a mid-high front vowel [e] or a central vowel [ə]. It is therefore helpful to distinguish the Matéq mid-high vowel with an acute accent in this study.

Vowel nasality is not marked in this orthography except when an oral vowel occurs unpredictably in a final syllable after a nasal consonant. Where this occurs, I have marked the vowel with a grave accent as in (2.45b) below. In cases where the vowel is unpredictably oral and already contains an acute accent I have used a circumflex to indicate orality so that, for instance, an oral mid-high front vowel that occurs in the final syllable of a word following a nasal consonant is written as *ê* as in (2.45c). In all other environments vowel nasality is predictable, as discussed in (§2.1.2) and (§2.2) above, and is therefore not orthographically marked.

(2.45) a. [tumã] > *tuma*
'orphan'

b. [tuma] > *tumà*
'fall over'

c. [emer] > *émêr*
'bucket'

Because I have chosen to represent diphthongs with two graphemes, there is potential ambiguity in the orthographic system between lexemes that contain a diphthong in a single syllable and those that contain two consecutive vowels in separate syllables. So, for instance, the lexeme [pi̯at] 'sparrow' which is monosyllabic, and the lexeme [siap] 'chicken' which is disyllabic, are written as *piat* and *siap* respectively.

3. Nouns and Noun Phrases

This chapter discusses nouns and noun phrases, beginning with an overview of nominal properties in (§3.1). Derived nouns and nominal derivation strategies are then considered in (§3.1.1). (§3.2) discusses pronouns: both personal pronouns (§3.2.1) and other pronominal elements (§3.2.2). Noun phrases and their constituents are laid out in (§3.3). This is followed by more detailed discussions of noun phrase constituents: numerals (§3.3.1), classifiers (§3.3.2), quantifiers (§3.3.3), possessive constructions (§3.3.4), relative clauses (§3.3.5), demonstratives (§3.3.6) and finally noun phrase particles (§3.3.7).

3.1 Nouns

Nouns in Matéq can be identified on the basis of their distributional properties. Functioning as the heads of noun phrases, they are able to appear with noun-phrase modifiers such as possessive pronouns (3.1a), numerals and classifiers (3.1b), demonstratives (3.1c&e), relative clauses (3.1b&d), and noun-phrase particles (3.1e). Nouns may also directly modify other nouns in possessive constructions (3.1f) and compounding (3.1g).

(3.1) a. *tongan* *koq*
arm 1SG
'my arm' (ES3.19)

b. *téq* *éh* *idu* *goloq* *ikat* *doi* *warna* *nsioq* *diq*
this EMP two CLASS fish large colour red REL

ni *koq* *nangkap*
UV 1SG AV.catch
'these are two large red fish that I caught' (ES1.116)

c. *poja* *téq*
basket this
'this *poja* basket' (BD.8)

d. *ikat* *diq* *dicik*
fish REL small
'small fish' (ES1.119)

e. *nadéq* *aiq* *yoh*
child that YOH
'that child' (SG.10)

f. *romin* *dioq*[64]
house turtle
'the turtle's house' (BD.33)

g. *dout* *kopik*
leaf ear
'earlobe' (SP.20)
(lit. leaf of the ear)

Proper nouns, such as personal names, behave in the same way as other nouns in Matéq. They can occur with demonstratives (3.2a) or the noun-phrase particle *yoh* (3.2b),[65] cf. (3.1c) and (3.1d) above. Proper nouns are not, however, attested with other noun-phrase modifiers such as numerals.

(3.2) a. *Luéh* *ma* *Basuaq* *téq* *matéq-éh*
L father B this just.before
'*Luéh ma Basuaq*[66]' (MS1.9)

b. *oduaq* *Limamàk* *yoh*
toy L YOH
'*Limamàk*'s toys' (MS2.8)

3.1.1 Derived Nouns

Many nouns in Matéq show evidence of derivation from verbal bases. This is usually accomplished by the affixation of one of the prefixes *pu(N)-*, *k(u)-* or *si-*. In some cases nouns can also be formed through compounding or reduplication, discussed below.

The widely productive prefix *pu(N)-* is a general nominaliser which forms nouns of various types from verbal bases. The prefix attaches to the Actor voice form of the verb and the resulting nouns can correspond to the Agent (3.3a), Undergoer (3.3b) or Instrument (3.3c) argument of that verb. In some cases such as (3.3d), the derived noun refers to a location that is somehow related to

64 *Dioq* 'turtle' here refers to a particular turtle, one of the characters in the story. See Appendix 3, Text 1.
65 For more on *yoh* see (§3.3.7). *Yoh* is only attested following proper nouns when they occur as possessors. An alternative analysis might be that the *yoh* in these cases modifies the head noun (the possession), rather than the proper noun.
66 *Luéh ma Basuaq* is the name of a character in a traditional story. It is a teknonym which can be translated '*Luéh* the father of *Basuaq*'. See Appendix 3, Text 2.

the action described by the verb. In yet other cases, the derived nouns may refer to an abstract quality described by or related to the verb, as in (3.3e).

(3.3) a. *pu-man* cf. *man*
NOM-AV.eat AV.eat
'eater' 'eat'
(Agent)

b. *pu-mpulua* cf. *mpulua*
NOM-AV.gather AV.gather
'amount' 'gather (transitive)'
(Undergoer)

c. *pu-lapah* cf. *lapah*
NOM-AV.hit AV.hit
'racket' 'hit with wooden object'
(Instrument)

d. *pu-ngkodap* cf. *ngkodap*
NOM-AV.rotten AV.rotten
'place for keeping rotting food' 'keep until rotten'
(Location)

e. *pumanèi* cf. *panèi*
NOM.clever clever
'cleverness' 'clever'
(Abstract)

The prefix *k(u)-* is also highly productive. It can be affixed to verb bases to form nouns denoting the abstract quality[67] described by those bases, as shown in (3.4a-c) below. When the prefix is attached to a base that begins with a vowel, such as (3.4b-c), it is shortened to *k-*. *K(u)-* may be related to the noun *koyuh* 'thing, wood', which is often shortened to *ku(h)*, and may appear before verbs, e.g. *koyuh susut* 'question' (lit. thing to be asked).

(3.4) a. *ku-baék* cf. *baék*
NOM-good good
'goodness' 'good'

67 In some cases the resulting noun refers to a concrete entity that is related to the verb, e.g. *kodap* 'rotten carcass' or 'rotten smell' cf. *modap* 'rotten'. Note that the intransitive verb here appears to be prefixed with *m(u)-*, which is presumably lost when *k(u)-* is attached (or, alternatively, both forms may be derived from an unattested bound stem **odap*).

b. *k-oi* cf. *oi*
NOM-be.many be.many
'size' 'many'

c. *k-omùh* cf. *omùh*
NOM-long long
'length' 'long'

The nominal prefix *si-* is not widely productive in Matéq. It attaches to stative intransitive verbs[68] to form nouns that denote groups of humans, as in examples (3.5a-b).

(3.5) a. *si-nadéq*
NOM-child(ish)
'children'

b. *si-dayua* cf. *dayua*
NOM-female female
'girls' 'female'

A number of nouns in Matéq show evidence of a potential nominal prefix *ri-*. Initial *ri-* appears in many animal names, such as those in (3.6a-b). Given that it is not widely productive, and that the remainders of the words do not occur as bases on their own, *ri-* is analysed as part of the noun stem in this study.

(3.6) a. *rikokoq*
spider
'spider'

b. *rinanu*
dragonfly
'dragonfly'

Nouns in Matéq may also be formed through compounding. Compound nouns consist of two juxtaposed lexical elements which together denote a single entity.[69] The first of these elements is always a noun, while the second one can be nominal (3.7a), verbal[70] (3.7b) or a bound stem (3.7c).

68 The base *nadéq* in (3.5a) can function as either a noun meaning 'child' or an stative intransitive verb meaning 'be childish'.

69 With regard to their surface forms, compound nouns are identical to possessive constructions. In this study the two are differentiated on semantic grounds, i.e. possessive constructions are taken to be those where the modifying noun is referential and the relationship between the two nouns is one of ownership, bodypart-person or kinship (see §3.3.4 for more on possessive constructions). This can be contrasted with the figurative, subtype or placename readings of compound nouns.

70 Interestingly, the verbal element of a compound appears in its undergoer voice form (see §4.2.2.2). This may indicate that Undergoer voice forms of verbs are basic.

In many cases compound nouns have figurative meanings, as in (3.7a) and (3.7d), or are associated with subtype or placename readings as in (3.7e-f). Compound nouns in Matéq are usually left-headed.

(3.7) a. *suat* *nnùa*
flower nose
'lower section of nose' (lit. nose-flower)

b. *koyuh* *nan*
thing UV.eat
'food' (AK.23)

c. *coluaq-tompéq*
hollow.under.collarbone
'hollow under collarbone'[71]

d. *onaq* *tabat*
child UV.carry.away
'prisoner' (MS2.138)

e. *bota* *munti*
trunk bamboo
'(kind of) bamboo' (T.123)

f. *pit* *Koyap*
water K
'Sekayam river' (MS3.132)

Some nouns in Matéq, such as *aut-aut* in (3.8), show evidence of formation by reduplication. These nouns appear to consist of bound stems and only appear in reduplicated form – *aut*, for instance, does not appear on its own. At this stage it is not clear how productive reduplication is in the lexicon.

(3.8) *aut-aut*
k.o.termite.alate
'winged termite'

71 *Tompéq* can also freely occur as a noun meaning 'fermented/fried durian flesh' (Indonesian: tempoyak). This is presumably accidental homophony with the bound stem in (3.7c). *Coluaq* is not attested on its own.

3.2 Pronouns

Pronouns in Matéq share many syntactic properties with nouns. They may, for instance, be modified by numerals, classifiers or demonstratives. Unlike nouns, however, pronouns are only attested preceding numerals and classifiers (3.9a), and never following them (like nouns). In some contexts such as (3.9b), a pronoun may be directly modified by a noun, sometimes with an accompanying numeral. These sorts of constructions usually function to specify the reference of a pronoun, particularly if there is any doubt surrounding who or what the pronoun refers to. Incidentally, in situations where the number of referents is in need of clarification, a prepositional-phrase construction like that in (3.9c) is generally used. Also unlike nouns, pronouns are not attested with the noun-phrase particle *yoh* (see §3.3.7).

(3.9) a. *nnàt* *idu* *kunan*
2PL two CLASS
'the two of you'

b. *oméq* *idu* *Daniél*
1PL.EXCL two D
'Daniel and I' (ES14)
(lit. we two Daniel)

c. *idu* *kunan* *soq* *datn* *aiq* *yoh*[72]
two CLASS from 3PL that YOH
'two of them' (ES3.12)

3.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are marked for 1st inclusive, 1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person. They are also marked for singular, dual and plural number, although the dual sets did not seem to be frequently used in everyday speech.[73] Some pronouns have short forms which can function as subject markers (see §6.7); longer forms do not generally appear as subject markers. Both forms of pronouns can appear as the argument of a verb or in possessive constructions.[74] Personal pronouns in Matéq can be divided into a set of standard and a set of honorific pronouns, defined by the generational

72 The noun phrase particle *yoh* in this example appears to go with the phrase *idu kunan* (or possibly the demonstrative *aiq*), rather than with the pronoun *datn*.

73 Periphrastic constructions, such as the one attested for the 1st person inclusive dual pronoun in Table (10), may function as alternatives to the dual sets.

74 There does not appear to be a morphosyntactic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in Matéq. A small set of body-part nouns are attested with only the short pronouns in possessive constructions, however the absence of longer forms with these nouns may be an accidental gap in the data.

relationships involved.[75] For singular pronouns, this generational relationship is between the speaker and the addressee. For dual and plural pronouns, on the other hand, the relationship is between the group of referents that the pronoun refers to (regardless of their generational relationship to the speaker).

Singular standard pronouns are used when the addressee is of the same or a younger generation than the speaker. This relationship holds regardless of age so that, for instance, when a speaker addresses his nephew he will use the standard pronouns (e.g. *omuq*) even if his nephew is older than him. The dual and plural standard pronouns, on the other hand, are used to indicate that the group of addressees or referees all belong to the same generation. For instance, the 2nd person plural standard pronoun *nnàt* may be used to address a group of three or more people of the same generation, regardless of whether they are of an older, younger or equal generation in relation to the speaker. In contexts where there are generational relationships among the addressees, the dual or plural honorific pronouns are used. Table (10) provides an overview of the Matéq standard personal pronouns by person and number.

Table (10): Matéq Standard Personal Pronouns

	Singular		**Dual**		**Plural**	
	Full	**Short**	**Full**	**Short**	**Full**	**Short**
1 incl	-	-	*odeap idu*[76]	-	*odeap*	*deap*
1 excl	*okoq*	*koq*	*moduah*	-	*oméq*[77]	*méq*
2	*omuq*	*muq*	*kanuah*	-	*nnàt*	*nnàt*
3	*(odeap)=ngéh*	*ng*	*doduah*	-	*dat ngéh*[78]	*ng*

The 3rd person singular full pronoun has an extended form *odeap=ngéh* (usually realised as [odi̪apm]), as well as a shorter full form *ngéh.* Interestingly, the extended form appears to be morphologically related to the 1st person inclusive singular pronoun *odeap*. The difference between the use of *odeap=ngéh* and *ngéh* is not clear, and requires further research. In some contexts *odeap=ngéh* seems to be preferred, e.g. in (3.10) where two instances of the pronoun each refer to separate antecedents.

75 See Tadmor (2010) for a similar system in Semandang, another Land Dayak language.
76 This pronoun appears to be a periphrastic construction consisting of the 1st person inclusive plural pronoun *odeap* and *idu* 'two'. Cf. *oméq idu* in example (3.9b) above.
77 Language consultants also mentioned that there are some contexts where *oméq* is used inclusively, usually indicating a greater number than *odeap.*
78 This pronoun may consist of a bound stem *dat* plus the 3rd person singular pronoun *ngéh. dat* also occurs as a noun meaning 'branch'.

(3.10) *moriq* *bua,* *moriq* *nìk* *romin* *adeapm*[79]*,*
return.home bear return.home to house 3SG

dioq *téq* *moriq* *nìk* *romin* *adeapm*
turtle this return.home to house 3SG
'the bear went home to his house, (and) the turtle went home to his house'
(BD.28)

Honorific pronouns are used by speakers to show respect for a generational relationship. The singular pronouns are used when the addressee is of an older generation than the speaker, regardless of age. For instance, if a speaker has an uncle who is younger in age than him, then he will use the honorific pronouns (e.g. *okap*) when addressing him.[80] The dual and plural honorific pronouns, on the other hand, indicate a cross-generational relationship, not between speaker and addressee, but rather within the group of addressees or referees. For example, if a speaker was to address a group of people including an elderly couple and their grandchild, he would use the plural honorific pronouns. The full set of attested honorific personal pronouns is given in Table (11).

Table (11): Matéq Honorific Personal Pronouns

	Singular		**Dual**		**Plural**	
	Full	**Short**	**Full**	**Short**	**Full**	**Short**
1 incl	-	-	*manaq*	-	*rinaq*[81]	-
1 excl	*okoq*	*koq*	*manaq*	-	*ntirinaq*[82]	-
2	*okap*	*kap*	*kumanaq*	-	*kurinaq*[83]	-
3	*ngéh*	*ng*	*jimanaq*	-	*jitirinaq*[84]	-

3.2.2 Other Pronominals

In addition to the standard and honorific pronouns discussed above, Matéq has several other pronoun-like elements. Most of these elements are not grammatical pronouns as such, but often function pronominally in a clause as the sole referent to an antecedent.

One of these pronominal elements is *nyo*, a noun meaning 'person'. Pronominal *nyo* can be

79 Note that the form *adeapm* is a dialectal variant of *odeapm.* See (§1.4).
80 Technically this is the case, although I was told that many young men (in particular) prefer to use standard pronouns with younger addressees.
81 Dual and plural honorific pronouns may consist of a variety of prefixes affixed to a base *naq. Naq* also occurs as a noun meaning 'child' (i.e. a reduced form of *onaq*).
82 1st person exclusive and 3rd person plural honorific pronouns appear to contain a prefix *(n)ti-*.
83 2nd person dual and plural honorific pronouns appear to contain a prefix *ku-*.
84 3rd person dual and plural honorific pronouns appear to contain a prefix *ji-*.

used as a polite reference to an addressee in imperatives, as in (3.11a-b). In these examples it appears directly after the imperative verb and is understood as an indirect (and therefore polite) reference to the addressee.

(3.11) a. *sumaq* *nyo* *tuet=n*
climb.up person first=ADV
'Go on in first!'[85] (OB.81)

b. *tanu* *nyo* *jujua* *doyoq* *diq* *nsioq-nsioq*
UV.pick person J blood REL red-RED
'Pick the red *jujua doyoq* flowers!' (OB.43)

A second pronominal use of *nyo* is attested with actor voice verbs that refer to generic action,[86] as in (3.12a-b). In these cases *nyo* appears in the expected position for Actor arguments in actor voice (i.e. directly before the verb) and refers to non-specific agents of habitual or generic action.

(3.12) a. *oniah* *ku* *nyo* *labi=ng* *diq* *baka* *téq*
what thing person AV.say=3 REL like this
'how do you say this?' (PS.88)
(lit. what do people say that's like this?)

b. *téq* *minyaq* *koyuh* *nyo* *mongki* *ngéh*
this AV.use wood person AV.make 3
'this is made of wood' (ES2.2)
(lit. this, using wood, people make it)

Jénéq 'whatchimicallit' is a placeholder that is used in discourse to replace a forgotten verbal or nominal element as in (3.13a-b). Example (3.13c) shows a more typical use of placeholder *jénéq*, where the forgotten word is added appositionally after the main clause.

(3.13) a. *agéq* *néh* *jénéq=ng*
again 3 whatchimicallit=3
'again he whatsit' (DN.165)

b. *okoq* *ngkomìs=ng* *kuat* *jénéq*
1SG AV.kill=3 UV.say whatchimicallit
'"I'll kill it," said whatshisname' (T.110)

85 *Sumaq* literally means 'climb up' but is usually understood to mean 'enter (a house)'. Traditionally Dayak houses are raised above the ground on stilts, accessed by a log ladder.

86 Actor voice may be associated with generic, habitual and/or ongoing action in Matéq. See (§4.2.2.1).

c. *balo* *jénéq* *ci* *yoh,* *balo* *kois*
QUAN whatchimicallit this YOH QUAN wild.pig
'some of these whatchimicallit, some wild pigs' (T.44)

Demonstratives are typically noun phrase modifiers. In (3.a-b) however, *téq* 'this' and *at* 'that' also function pronominally, replacing the head noun in noun phrases.

(3.14) a. *gulua* *téq* *yoh* *koh* *téq* *yoh*
desire this YOH or this YOH
'do you want this one or this one?' (ES5b.23)

b. *jéh* *mongki* *ompek* *bauh,* *at* *lah* *ompek*
PRFT AV.make village new that EMP village

Kuroyiat *ngan* *ompek* *Ringkoyat*
K and village R
'(they) made new villages, they were the villages of *Kuroyiat* and *Ringkoyat*' (AK.22)

Locationals are pronominal elements that refer to locations. As (3.16a-d) indicate, they usually appear in prepositional phrases (shown inside square brackets below). Attested locationals in Matéq are given in (3.15a-g).[87] The forms *oyiat* and *oni* both refer to locations that have been previously mentioned in discourse. *Oni* appears to also have a temporal meaning of 'then' (i.e. referring to a particular time in the past). The initial /o/ of locationals is often dropped in natural speech, as shown in (3.16d).

(3.15) a. *ci* - here, pointed at
b. *otéq* - here
c. *ocah* - there
d. *oih* - there, distal
e. *oyiat* - there, previously mentioned
f. *oni* - there, previously mentioned
g. *okiah* - where

(3.16) a. *pu-ntebeaq* *omuq* [*noq* *ocah*] *mah* *oniah*
NOM-AV.see 2SG at there like what
'what's your view of that place like?' (ES4.15)

87 Some of the locationals given in (3.15a-g) bear morphological similarity to the demonstratives (see §3.3.6), e.g. *otéq* 'here' vs. *(i)téq* 'this', and *ocah* 'there' vs. *cah* 'that'.

b. *ngemeh* *bolo* *naq* *nsio* [*noq* *oni* *yoh*]
AV.make.ricefield QUAN child human at there YOH
'people were making rice fields there' (MS1.3)

c. *jéh* *ka* *koq* *bioq* *medeap* [*noq* *oyiat*]
PRFT NEG 1SG be.able live at there
'I couldn't live there any more' (PS.163)

d. *ngenèi* *méq* [*noq* *téq*]
stay 1PL.EXCL at here
'we stayed here' (PS.200)

Sometimes locationals may appear with an initial voiceless velar plosive /k/, as in (3.17), with no apparent change in meaning. It is not clear whether initial /k/ is an occasionally pronounced part of the stem, or whether it may be a separate morpheme, perhaps related to the nominalising prefix *ku-* (§3.1.1) or the preposition *ku* (§5.3).

(3.17) *okoq* *roq* *nìk* *kocah*
1SG want to there
'I'm going there'

Another pronominal element is the numeral *nyéq* 'one', which may function on its own as a pronoun that refers to one entity out of a previously-specified group. In (3.18), for instance, the narrator is telling a story about a woman who makes two torches. *Nyéq* is then used pronominally to refer to each torch, one at a time.

(3.18) *nyéq* *puruaq=ng* *noq* *topuaq,*
one UV.put.in=3 at bamboo.container

nyéq *kisiat=n* *noq* *ungki* *tumuaq*
one UV.tie=3 at tail pig
'she put one (of the torches) into a bamboo container,
(and) one she tied to the tail of a pig' (S2.70)

Reduplicated content question words such as *oniah-oniah* 'anything' and *osiah-osiah* 'anyone' are also pronominal in nature. As can be seen in (3.19), they function as indefinite pronouns that refer to an unspecified or unknown number of entities.

(3.19) *nyamp* *oniah-oniah* *noq* *yiat*
not.exist what-RED at there
'there wasn't anything there' (GS.32)

The nominal element *bara* (3.20) also functions in a pronoun-like way, referring to a plurality of entities that are salient in the discourse context.

(3.20) *bara rentep tonu, bara mapua layék=ng*
BARA sink UV.pick BARA float UV.throw=3
'the ones that sank (she) took, the ones that floated she threw away'
(MS3.30)

One element, *dupat* (3.21), has a reciprocal-like pronominal function. As can be seen in the example below, *dupat* indicates that an action is carried out by members of a particular group on each other. In (3.21), a group of warriors become confused at night and start killing each other, thinking that their enemy is attacking them. *Dupat* appears directly after the verb.[88]

(3.21) *bu-kobis dupat datn matéq-éh*
BU-dead each.other 3PL just.before
'they (started) killing each other' (MS2.130)

Other pronoun-like elements in Matéq include terms of address (glossed as TOA). Terms of address are nominal elements that are used to address someone, often affectionately. Three common terms of address in Matéq are given in (3.22a-c). Sometimes they co-occur with the vocative particle *o* 'oh'. Terms of address can be contrasted with personal pronouns in that they do not replace an antecedent in a clause but rather function to attract the attention of the addressee in discourse, as shown in (3.23a-b). In these examples the term of address *ngaq* combines with the noun *oma* 'father' and *oya* 'mother' to form compound terms of address which function as teknonyms for the baby's father and mother, respectively.

(3.22) a. *ngaq* - for addressing a baby or young child

b. *cacih* - for addressing a younger girl

c. *tatuq* - for addressing a younger boy

(3.23) a. *o oma ngaq*
VOC father TOA
'Oh father of the baby!'

88 *Dupat* could possibly be analysed as a verbal element (e.g. an auxiliary verb or part of a serial verb construction). More detailed research would be required to confirm this.

b. *o* *oya* *ngaq*
VOC mother TOA
'Oh mother of the baby!'

3.3 Noun Phrases

Noun phrases in Matéq consist of a head noun with optional modifiers. The order of these modifiers in relation to the head noun can be represented as in (3.24). Numerals (Num) and classifiers (Class) can either precede or follow the head noun, while quantifiers (Quan) always precede it. After the head noun, modifiers tend to appear in the order of possessives (Poss), relative clauses (Rel), demonstratives (Dem) and finally noun phrase particles (Part). Each of these modifiers is discussed further below.

(3.24) (Num) (Class) (Quan) **N** (Poss) (Rel) (Dem) (Part)

Noun phrases may be joined with the conjunctions *ngan* 'and' (3.25a), *ko(h)* 'or' (3.25b) or *atau* 'or' (3.25c).[89]

(3.25) a. *dioq* *ngan* *bua* *téq* *bu-konsi*
turtle with bear this BU-friend
'the turtle and the bear were friends' (BD.3)

b. *oniah* *omuq* *gulua* *téq* *koh* *téq*
what 2SG desire this or this
'do you want this or this?' (ES5.69)

c. *nyéq* *mingù* *atau* *idu* *mingù* *ku* *muo*
one week or two week towards front
'the next one or two weeks' (PS.50)

3.3.1 Numerals

The cardinal numeral system of Matéq is summarised in (3.26) below. As can be seen, the numerals one through ten stand alone, while numbers above ten are formed by compounding with one of the following modifiers: *bolas* 'teens', *puruq* 'tens', *ratus* 'hundreds' or *ribu* 'thousands'. Further numerals may be added after this modifier, such as with *remeh puruq* in (3.27).

89 The two conjunctions *koh* and *atau* appear to be interchangeable. *Atau* is possibly a borrowing from Indonesian *atau* 'or'.

(3.26)	*nyéq*	'one'	*si=bolas*[90]	'eleven'
	idu[91]	'two'	*idu bolas*	'twelve'
	taruah	'three'	*taruah bolas*	'thirteen'
	mpat	'four'	*idu puruq*	'twenty'
	remeh	'five'	*taruah puruq*	'thirty'
	nnèm	'six'	*mpat puruq*	'forty'
	ijuq	'seven'	*si=ratus*	'one hundred'
	mei	'eight'	*idu ratus*	'two hundred'
	puri	'nine'	*si=ribu*	'one thousand'
	semea	'ten'	*idu ribu*	'two thousand'

(3.27) *si=ratus* *remeh* *puruq*
one=hundreds five tens
'one hundred and fifty' (MS2.146)

Ordinal numerals can be formed by the prefixation of *ku-* to the cardinal form, as shown in (3.28a-b). At this stage it is not clear what relationship this prefix may have with the other types of *ku-* (see §3.1.1, §3.3.2 and §4.2.2.2). An exception to this use of *ku-* is the word *paritama* 'first' which may be an adoption of the Indonesian *pertama* 'first'.

(3.28) a. *ku-idu*
ORD-two
'second'

b. *ku-taruah*
ORD-three
'third'

Numerals may appear before or after the head noun in a noun phrase. When they precede the head noun as in (3.29a-b) they always co-occur with a classifier. Postnominal numerals may appear with or without classifiers as in (3.29c-d), although postnominal numerals that refer to human beings consistently appear with the human classifier *kunan*.[92]

90 *Sibolas*, *siratus* and *siribu* all show a numerical clitic *si=* 'one'. This appears to be related to (and may even be an adoption from) the Indonesian system, which includes *sebelas*, *seratus* and *seribu* for the same values.

91 The variants *du* and *ndu* 'two' were also attested. This may suggest that the initial [i] is epenthetic, see (§2.5) for instances of [i]-epenthesis between two consonants.

92 An exception to this is *nyéq*, which also occurs as a noun phrase particle. When functioning in this way it appears postnominally without a classifier, even when referring to human beings. See (§3.3.7).

(3.29) a. *idu* *goloq* *ikat*
two CLASS fish
'two fish' (ES1.115)

b. *idu*[93] *kunan* *osou* *ngan* *baneh* *ngeh* *nyidoq*
two CLASS wife and husband 3 speak
'A wife and her husband were speaking' (WC.1)

c. *monìk* *si-nadéq* *dayua* *idu* *kunan*
come NOM-child female two CLASS
'along came two girls' (MS3.189)

d. *tangki=ng* *dibuh* *idu*
UV.make=3 torch two
'she made two torches' (S2.67)

In situations where the exact number of an entity is not known, two or more numerals can be juxtaposed as in *du taruah* 'two or three' in (3.30).

(3.30) *datn* *laman, du* *taruah* *momoq*[94] *laman*
3PL hut two three household hut
'they lived in huts, two or three households in a hut' (MS1.31)

3.3.2 Classifiers

Classifiers in Matéq always co-occur with numerals. They appear in noun phrases before or after the head noun, as seen in (3.31a-b). In cases of head noun omission, the numeral+classifier sequence (shown inside square brackets) may occur on its own as in (3.31c). Classifiers do not occur with proper nouns.

(3.31) a. [*taruah* *goloq*] *rugu* *bu-jalat* *nanu*
three CLASS chameleon BU-walk towards

arok *diq* *warna* *coklat*
place CLASS colour brown
'three chameleons walked over a place that was brown' (R.8-9)

93 The numeral *idu* 'two' is used in this example in conjunction with conjoined noun phrases to signal that there is a total of two people involved in the action.

94 *Momoq* is a classifier-like element which is used in counting numbers of households.

b. *monìk nadéq buja [du kunan]*
come child batchelor two CLASS
'along came two unmarried men' (MS3.10)

c. [*idu goloq*] *nyodi coklat*
two CLASS become brown
'two (of the chameleons) turned brown' (R.10)

Four classifiers were frequently attested in the data, although further research may reveal that the Matéq classifier system is more complex. The choice of classifier in each noun phrase is determined by the semantic properties of the head noun. For instance, the classifier *kunan* (3.32a) is used for head nouns that refer to human beings. In contrast the classifier *goloq*[95] (3.32b) is used for head nouns that include fruit, animals and quite large round objects. It is also the default classifier for non-human objects. The classifier *kora* is used for small round objects, as seen in (3.32c) with the head noun *mateh* 'eye'. Example (3.32d) shows the classifier *tengen*, which is used for long, thin objects.

(3.32) a. *nyéq kunan si-dayua ngewel isuaq*
one CLASS NOM-female AV.hug chest

nganàr noq oni
lean at house.post
'a woman was leaning against the door with her arms crossed' (BO.1)

b. *adeah nyéq goloq onaq kosuh=ng*
exist one CLASS child dog=3
'the boy had a puppy' (OT.25)

c. *nyaq=ng ngkirih mateh onaq kosuh téq*
NYAQ=3 AV.see eye child dog this

matéq-éh idu kora
just.before two CLASS
'and he saw the puppy's eyes, two of them' (OT.57-8)

d. *nyéq tengen pénsil*
one CLASS pencil
'one pencil'

Another element, *ku*[96] (3.33a-c), is used in a classifier-like manner to indicate that a specified

95 The classifier *goloq* appears to be related to the intransitive verb *bugoloq* 'have a round shape'.
96 It is unclear whether or not this form is synonymous with the nominalising prefix *ku-* (§3.1.1), the voice prefix *ku-*

number out of a group of objects that has been mentioned (or is assumed) in discourse, is involved in the action or state described by the verb[97]. For instance, the discourse context for (3.33a) includes a scene where a man carries a bundle of cut firewood into his house. The phrase *nyéq ku butoq koyuh=ng* therefore refers to one piece of firewood out of the group that he was carrying. Likewise the phrase *nyéq ku saro* in (3.33c) refers to one group of people out of all the residents of the village of *Ntowoq Moteh*.

(3.33) a *tapi nyéq ku butoq koyuh=ng mentek*
but one CLASS cut wood=3 left.behind
'but one piece of his wood was left behind' (WC.14)

b. *saja osik nyéq ku sukuh puruat aiq*
whoa finish one CLASS elbow k.o.rice that

ni=ng mpola, omaq puruat aiq [...]
UV=3 AV.eat mat k.o.rice that
'whoa, one elbow's worth of rice he ate, of that mat of rice' (MS1.137)

c. *nyéq ku saro bi Ntowoq Moteh aiq*
one CLASS group person N M that

roq nyora
want attack
'one group of people from the village of *Ntowoq Moteh* wanted to attack' (MS3.211)

Classifiers in Matéq may be used to modify head nouns that usually function as mass nouns, such as *kurosiaq* 'sand' (3.34a). When the classifier is present, as in (3.34b), the head noun is reinterpreted as referring to a countable entity.

(3.34) a. *balo kurosiaq*
QUAN sand
'much sand'

b. *nyéq kora kurosiaq*
one CLASS sand
'one grain of sand'

(§4.2.2.2), the ordinal numeral prefix *ku-* (§3.3.1), or the noun *ku* which is short for *koyuh* 'thing'.

97 For the purposes of this thesis *ku* is included as a classifier, even though its function is not typical of a classifier.

3.3.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Matéq can be divided into two types: those that appear within the noun phrase and those that do not. Quantifiers that occur within a noun phrase appear before the head noun. This can be seen in (3.35a-c) with the quantifier *balo.*[98] *Balo* signifies general plurality (i.e. an unspecified number or amount) of the head noun. In some cases, such as (3.35c), *balo* may appear when the head noun has been ellipted.

(3.35) a. *balo* *si-nadéq*
QUAN NOM-child
'some kids' (ES2.130)

b. *balo* *ronu*
QUAN sunlight
'too sunny'[99]

c. *bolo* *téq* *yoh* *obu*
QUAN this YOH flee
'(they) fled' (MS1.158)

Another quantifier that appears within noun phrases in Matéq is *roma* 'many'. *Roma* signifies that the head noun is too numerous to count, as in (3.36).

(3.36) *nyaq* *ngkirih* *roma* *onaq* *babu* *téq* *matéq-éh*
then AV.see many child mouse this just.before
'then (she) saw the many, many mouse pups' (OB.26)

The quantifier *tiap* 'each' also appears inside noun phrases. In (3.37a) it occurs with the head noun *onù* 'day' with the resulting meaning 'each day' or 'every day'.

(3.37) a. [*tiap* *onù*] *néh* *oji* *nyobu* *aiq* *yoh*
each day 3 go.to.forest AV.weed that YOH
'each day she went out to weed it (her rice field)' (DN.4)

The second type of quantifier in Matéq occurs outside of the noun phrase. *Agal* 'all' appears directly before the main verb in a clause, as in (3.38a), and signifies that the entire group of entities denoted by the subject is involved in the action. *Agal* may also appear with serial verb constructions, as in

98 The pronunciation of *balo* varies between [balo] and [bolo]. This is possibly dialect variation, see (§1.4).

99 The phrase *balo ronu* can be used to describe a location which is in direct sunlight and therefore uncomfortable to stay in.

(3.38b). Examples (3.38c) and (3.38d) show *agal* occurring with non-verbal predicates. In both these examples it appears directly before a nominal predicate and indicates that the subject of the clause is entirely made up of the kinds of entities or substance denoted by that predicate.[100]

(3.38) a. *balo nyo agal oji*
QUAN person all go.to.forest
'the people had all gone out to the forest' (AK.10)

b. *agal obu ngatuh*
all flee climb
'(they) all fled up a tree' (MS3.136)

c. *jéh sumuq jéh agal naq nsio noq Bunuo Mawa*
PRFT only PRFT all child human at B M
'there were only human beings in *Bunuo Mawa*' (MS3.64)

d. *tubuq=ng téq jéh agal botuh*
body=3 this PRFT all stone
'her body was entirely (turned to) stone' (MS3.78)

Another quantifier attested in Matéq, *simua* 'all', does not behave like those above. In (3.39a-c) it functions much like *agal*, indicating that the entirety of the group denoted by the head noun is involved in the action. Unlike *agal*, however, *simua* may appear either within the noun phrase (3.39a), before the main verb (3.39b),[101] or after the main verb (3.39c). This behaviour may be due in part to the likely possibility that *simua* has been borrowed from the Indonesian quantifier 'semua', which is semantically identical to *simua* and behaves in a similar way syntactically.

(3.39) a. *simua bi ampek téq agal póngóq*
all person village this all visit
'all the people of the village went to visit another village'[102] (OT.4-5)

b. *mulo-éh simua tauq=ng mperei*
long.long.ago all be.able=3 transform
'in the old days everything could change its shape' (MS3.117)

100Given its verb-like distribution and function (especially when contrasted with the other quantifiers in Matéq), *agal* could alternatively be analysed as a verbal element. This may be similar to A-quantification in the sense of Partee (1995:549), who suggest that A-quantifiers are 'associated morphologically or syntactically with verbs (or other predicates) rather than located in or with the NP arguments to which they seem (from an NP-centric perspective) to be supplying some kind of quantificational force'. Further research would be needed to determine the exact nature of *agal* in Matéq.

101In (3.39b) *simua* functions as a noun phrase by itself.

102It is not clear why *simua* co-occurs with *agal* here, given that both quantifiers appear to have an identical function. This co-occurrence may be for extra emphasis.

c. *bolo bi ampek téq póngóq simua*
QUAN person village this visit all
'all the people of the village went to visit another village' (OT.104-105)

3.3.4 Possessive Constructions

Possessive nouns and pronouns appear after the head noun, as seen in examples (3.40a-c). Pronouns in possessive constructions usually appear in their short form as in (3.40a), although (3.40d) shows a full pronoun functioning possessively. Possessive constructions can describe various kinds of possession between two entities, including kinship (3.40a), owner-item (3.40b&d), and person-bodypart (3.40c).

(3.40) a. *odéq koq*
younger.sibling 1SG
'my younger sibling' (PS.72)

b. *oduaq Limamàk aiq yoh* […]
toy L that YOH
'*Limamàk*'s toy...' (MS2.11)

c. *ra babei*
jaw.bone grandfather
'the old man's beard[103]' (OT.74)

d. *romin oméq*
house 1PL.EXCL
'our house' (GS.13)

The possessor phrase may also appear in a relative construction with *diq* (see §3.3.5 below). Relative possessive constructions commonly occur when the head noun is omitted, as in (3.41a) below where the possessed object (*poja* 'basket') is salient in discourse but does not reappear in the possessive construction shown here. This is also the case with (3.41b&c), where the possessor phrase is a pronoun. These occurrences can be considered analogous to headless relative clauses, see (§3.3.5).[104]

103 Although the Matéq word is *ra* 'jawbone', the context of this phrase suggests that what the speaker is referring to is in fact the old man's beard (i.e. the hair growing on his jawbone). Incidentally, Matéq does have another word for 'beard': *gégép* (var. *gogap*).

104 These constructions may also be associated with contrastive focus. See (§7.5).

(3.41) a. *diq* *bua* *téq* *matéq-éh* *lompok*
REL bear this just.before have.holes
'the bear's one had a hole in the bottom' (BD.25)

b. *téq* *diq* *datn*
this REL 3PL
'this is theirs' (ES5.149)

c. *d=omuq*
REL=2SG
'(it's) yours' (ES5.143)

3.3.5 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Matéq (shown inside square brackets in the examples below) appear after the head noun in a noun phrase. They may be introduced with the relativiser *diq*[105] (3.42a-b), or they may appear without any relativiser (3.43a-b). The absence of *diq* does not appear to have any effect on the overall meaning of the clause, as demonstrated by the pair (3.42b) and (3.43b).

(3.42) a. *ular* *matéq-éh* [*diq* *kobis*]
snake just.before REL dead
'the snake that died' (MS1.20)

b. *oniah* *ku* [*diq* *tangki* *muq*]
what thing REL UV.make 2SG
'what are you doing?' (ES3.270)
(lit. what is the thing that is being made by you)

(3.43) a. *si-nadéq* [*ni* *nyo* *nabat* *téq*], *idu* *kunan*
NOM-child UV person AV.carry.away this two CLASS
'there were two children that they had carried away' (MS2.117)

b. *oniah* *ku* [*tangki* *muq*]
what thing UV.make 2SG
'what are you doing?' (ES3.268)
(lit. what is the thing being made by you)

Relative clauses may be headless, as shown in (3.44) where the contextually salient head noun

105Given that *diq* not only appears with clauses but also possessives and demonstratives, it may be possible to analyse it as a more general 'attributiviser'. Presumably this would mark out the following phrase(s) as non-predicates, i.e. functioning as noun-phrase-internal modifiers.

songa does not appear in the clause. Headless relative clauses are always introduced by the relativiser *diq*.

(3.44) [*diq* *bua* *téq*] *monyamp*
REL bear this be.lost
'the bear's ones (i.e. *songa* fruit) were lost' (BD.30)

Some western Austronesian languages have been described as having restrictions on relativisation, such that only the subject argument of a relative clause may be relativised.[106] This also appears to be the case in many relative clauses in Matéq, although an exception does exist (see below). Standard subject argument relativisation can be seen in (3.45a-b). In (3.45a) the embedded clause is in actor voice, and the Actor argument (*osiah* 'who') is relativised. Attempting to relativise the Undergoer argument (*akar=ng* 'his rattan') without changing the voice of the relative clause results in ungrammaticality.[107] In (3.45b) the embedded clause is in analytic undergoer voice and it is the Undergoer argument (*onaq tabat téq* 'the prisoners') that is relativised. Again, attempting to relativise the non-subject argument (in the case the Actor *nyo* 'people') without changing the voice results in ungrammaticality.[108] For clauses such as (3.45a-b), then, the relativised argument must be the subject of the relative clause (for more discussion on the connection between this requirement and the selection of voice, see §4.2.2.6).

(3.45) a. *osiah* *koh* [*diq* *ngompit* *akar=ng*]
who QUES REL AV.drag.along rattan=3
'who was the one who dragged along his rattan?' (MS1.146)

b. *nigo* *nyo* *onaq* *tabat* *téq* [*diq* *ni* *nyo* *nabat*]
UV.fence person child UV.carry.away this REL UV person AV.carry.away
'they fenced in the prisoners that they had taken'[109] (MS2.117)

An exception to this restriction is found in one attested example: (3.46). In this instance the relative clause contains a serial verb construction, and the relativised argument (*meh* 'ricefield') is an argument of the second verb (*mpoq* 'own'), but not an argument of the first verb in that SVC (*sirampuaq* 'share'). Unlike the relative clauses above, however, (3.46) has a resumptive pronoun

106See, for instance, Sneddon *et al.* (2010). Klamer (2002) points out, however, that some other western Austronesian languages do not have this restriction.
107I.e. the following clause is not grammatical: **akar=ng* [*diq osiah ngompit*]. Ungrammaticality in this case could also result from the placement of the content question word *osiah*.
108I.e. the following clause is not grammatical with the meaning 'the people that took the prisoners': **nyo* [*diq ni nabat onaq tabat téq*].
109In the Matéq text *nyo* 'person' is used in place of a 3rd person plural pronoun.

that is co-referent with the relativised argument. This pronoun appears in the syntactic position where that argument would be expected to occur if the clause were independent; in the case of *meh*, this position is located directly after the actor voice verb *mpoq* 'own'. Clauses such as (3.46) thus seem to allow non-subjects to be relativised, although presumably only in certain restricted circumstances. Without further research it is difficult to determine whether this exception is more widespread, and to what extent the grammatical features seen in (3.46) are necessary for relativisation of non-subject arguments to occur.[110]

(3.46) *adeah meh [diq sirampuaq nyo mpoq=ng]*
exist ricefield REL share person AV.own=3
'there was a ricefield that was owned by two people' (ES2.76)
(lit. there was a ricefield that sharing, people owned it)

3.3.6 Demonstratives

The five Matéq demonstratives – *ci*, *itéq*, *at*, *aiq* and *cah* – appear after the head noun in a noun phrase. In a general sense they function to indicate proximity of the head noun to the speaker or addressee in terms of either physical or temporal distance. Demonstratives can also be used to express definiteness and to introduce, foreground or refer back to discourse topics.

The demonstrative *ci* (3.47a) can be used to refer to physical entities that are being held or pointed at by the speaker. It may also function to foreground either physical or non-physical entities, as in (3.47b) where a new story about *Mawa Sora* is being introduced.

(3.47) a. *balo onaq koq ci yoh*
QUAN child 1SG this YOH
'my children (here)' (DN.119)

b. *cirito Mawa Sora ci yoh*
story M S this YOH
'this story of *Mawa Sora*' (MS2.35)

The demonstrative *itéq* and its shortened form *téq* usually indicate proximity of the head noun to the speaker in space (3.48a) or time[111] (3.48b). They can also be used to foreground a discourse topic, as

110For example, the use of a resumptive pronoun may be restricted to environments where there is a sufficient number of intervening elements between the pronoun and its antecedent. If this is true, then clauses without an SVC would presumably be unable to relativise non-subject arguments, since they would not be able to utilise a resumptive pronoun. Such clauses would thus be equivalent to the ungrammatical examples in Footnotes 107 and 108.

111Cf. an adverbial use of *(i)téq* 'now' discussed in (§6.6).

in (3.48c) where *bua* 'bear' and *dioq* 'turtle' (having recently been introduced) are being set up as the discourse topic for the immediately following section of narrative (see Appendix 3, Text 1). Topicalised phrases also often contain *(i)téq*, see (§7.5).

(3.48) a. *bukuq téq éh*
book this EMP
'this book' (ES1.121)
(e.g. a book near the speaker)

b. *onù téq mah diq roq ujat*
day this like REL want rain
'it looks like it might rain today' (ES1.96)

c. *dioq ngan bua téq bu-konsi*
turtle and bear this BU-friend
'the turtle and the bear were friends' (BD.3)

The demonstrative *at* indicates that the head noun is physically located near the addressee, at some distance from the speaker. This can be seen in examples (3.49a). It may also refer to figurative distance, as in (3.49b) where the use of *at* signifies that the storyteller has moved on and no longer views the story from the inside.

(3.49) a. *buoq bulitiq at yoh*[112]
fruit rambutan that YOH
'those rambutan' (ES2.159)
(e.g. said to a person sitting in a rambutan tree)

b. *jéh ilang gisah diq at yoh*
PRFT lost story REL that YOH
'that's the end of that story' (MS1.62)

Another demonstrative in Matéq is *aiq.*[113] *Aiq* and its variant *a(i)* indicate identifiability and appear with nouns that have been previously mentioned in discourse. This can be seen in (3.50a-c), where each of the nouns have already been introduced into the discourse context and are being subsequently referred to here. See the texts in Appendix 3 for examples of discourse contexts where *aiq* is used.

112For more on *yoh* see (§3.3.7).
113 This is not to be confused with the discourse marker *aiq*, see (§6.11.8).

(3.50) a. *torih=ng* *aiq* *matéq-éh*
rope=3 that just.before
'his rope' (BD.19)

b. *ular* *aiq* *yoh*
snake that YOH
'that snake' (MS1.18)

c. *torut* *a* *yoh*
forest that YOH
'that forest' (MS2.158)

The demonstrative *cah* is shown in (3.51a-c). It refers to entities that are located at a considerable distance from both the speaker and the addressee. The demonstrative *cah* appears to be morphologically related to the locational *ocah*, see (§3.2.2).

(3.51) a. *soq* *ampek* *cah* *yoh*
from village there YOH
'from that village' (ES1.128)

b. *buoq* *bulitiq* *cah*
fruit rambutan there
'those rambutan' (ES2.158)
(e.g. said by people on the ground, of fruit still up in a tree)

c. *dout* *cah* *yoh*
leaf there YOH
'that leaf' (ES2.60)

Demonstratives in Matéq may be relativised as in (3.52a-b). The precise function of demonstrative relativisation is not clear at this stage. In some cases such as (3.52a) it appears to indicate contrastive focus, while in other examples such as (3.52b) there does not appear to be any contrast present.

(3.52) a. *baruq* *jéh* *ilang* *gisah* *diq* *at,*
then PRFT lost story REL that

ngujual *agéq* *gisah* *Bunuo* *Mawa*
emerge again story B M
'so that's the end of that story, (now) the story of *Bunuo Mawa* comes back again'
(MS2.141)

b. *goq* *godéq* *bi* *Nongeh* *ngopik=ng* *cirito* *diq* *ai* *yoh*
usually afraid person N AV.hear=3 story REL that YOH
'the people of *Nongeh* are usually afraid to hear that story'
(i.e. the story just told) (MS3.166)

3.3.7 Noun Phrase Particles

There are three elements that appear in noun phrases in Matéq that can be analysed as particles: *nyéq*, *matéq-éh* and *yoh*. Although the function of each particle is different, as discussed below, the unifying feature across all three is their syntactic distribution: namely that they tend to appear after any other constituents of the phrase (including demonstratives).

Nyéq 'one' (3.53a-c) occurs with specific non-identifiable nouns. It is almost certainly related to the numeral and pronoun *nyéq* (see §3.3.1 and §3.2.2), however the exact nature of this relationship is unclear. Syntactically, the particle *nyéq* differs from the numeral and pronoun in that it consistently appears after the head noun and never appears with a classifier.

Noun phrases that contain the particle *nyéq* are interpreted as referring to specific single entities that are usually considered to be members of a previously identified or contextually obvious group. In (3.53b), for instance, the use of *nyéq* specifies that only one out of two torches mentioned in the story thus far is being lit. This can be contrasted with the numeral *idu* in (3.54), which simply refers to two torches, rather than two out of a larger group of torches (which might be the expected reading if *idu* was functioning in the same way as *nyéq* in (3.53b)). In contrast with the other noun phrase particles discussed below, *nyéq* may co-occur with other particles, e.g. (3.53b) where *nyéq* appears before *matéq-éh*.

(3.53) a. *mmòq* *koq* *diq* *dayua* *nyéq*
older.sibling 1SG REL female one
'one of my older siblings who is a girl' (PS.4)

b. *ni-nsayiat=n* *dibuh* *téq* *nyéq* *matéq-éh*
UV-AV.ignite=3 torch this one just.before
'she lit one of the torches' (S2.70)

(3.54) *tangki=ng* *dibuh* *idu*
UV.make=3 torch two
'she made two torches' (S2.67)

Matéq-éh 'just before' is a noun phrase particle which is used to indicate an identifiable noun that

has already been introduced in discourse. It appears to be related to the adverb *matéq-éh* 'just before' (see §6.6) but unlike the adverb, which modifies an entire clause, the particle *matéq-éh* only modifies a single noun phrase. This can be seen in (3.55a) where the temporal scope of *matéq-éh* is limited to the noun phrase *pulaman*, i.e. the sense of an event occurring 'just before' only applies to a previous utterance of *pulaman* rather than to the action of arriving at the *pulaman*. In contrast, the *matéq-éh* in (3.55b) is an adverb and thus signifies that the entire action of gathering rubber seeds (not just an utterance of the noun phrase *rua karék*) occurred in the recent past.

(3.55) a.

monìk	*pulaman*	*matéq-éh*
come	hut	just.before

'(they) came to the hut' (S2.21)
(i.e. the hut that I mentioned before)

b.

balo	*rua*	*karék*	*ni*	*koq*	*mpulua*	*matéq-éh*
QUAN	seed	rubber	UV	1SG	AV.gather	just.before

'I gathered some rubber seeds earlier' (ES3.192)

The function of *matéq-éh* is similar to that of the demonstrative *aiq* (see §3.3.6), and sometimes co-occurs with it as in (3.56a). Most commonly, however, *matéq-éh* co-occurs with *téq*, as in (3.56b). The resulting construction *téq matéq-éh* is often distinctively repeated many times in a narrative. In some cases like (3.57), *téq matéq-éh* seems to be functionally equivalent to the simple demonstrative *(i)téq* (see §3.3.6) and, as such, can mark a noun phrase as the discourse topic and even introduce new information into discourse. Interestingly this function appears to contradict the usual function of *matéq-éh* as referring to a previously-mentioned identifiable entity. This may indicate that *téq matéq-éh* has been lexicalised as a compound demonstrative whose overall meaning is different from the combination of the meanings of its constituent parts. Further research is needed to investigate whether this is in fact the case.

(3.56) a.

jéh	*jodi*	*torih=ng*	*aiq*	*matéq-éh*
PRFT	become	rope=3	that	just.before

'when his rope had been made' (BD.19)

b.

bu-tengèh	*datn*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
BU-argue	3PL	this	just.before

'they argued' (BD.14)

(3.57) *nyaq ngkirih roma onaq babu téq matéq-éh*
NYAQ AV.see many child mouse this just.before
'then (she) saw many many mouse pups'[114] (OB.26)

The noun phrase particle *yoh* always appears as the last element in a noun phrase, as seen in (3.58a-d). In (3.58a) and (3.58d) it co-occurs with a demonstrative, in (3.58b) it appears after a possessive noun, while in (3.58c) it occurs after a relativised stative intransitive verb – in each case *yoh* is the final constituent of the phrase.

(3.58) a. *onù aiq yoh* […]
day that YOH
'one day...' (OB.4)

b. […] *oduaq Limamàk yoh*
toy L YOH
'*Limamàk*'s toy' (MS2.8)

c. *bukuq diq doi yoh*
book REL big YOH
'the big book!' (ES5b.104)

d. *ribatu muq aiq yoh*
old.coconut 2SG that YOH
'your coconut[115]' (OB.28)

The exact function of *yoh* is difficult to determine. Language consultants generally had difficulty in articulating the role of *yoh* in an utterance, and comparisons between minimally different clauses failed to elicit clear contrasts in function.[116]

In some contexts, such as (3.59a), *yoh* is used with a demonstrative when a speaker is holding or gesturing towards a nearby physical object. This use is not exclusive, however, since *yoh* is also attested in contexts such as (3.59b) where physical reference is not possible.

(3.59) a. *téq yoh, tobat sékét koq kuat=n*
this YOH UV.bring knife 1SG say=3
'"here, take my knife," he said' (BD.46)

114 Although *onaq babu* 'mouse pups' had not been mentioned before in this text, their mother *Oya Babu* 'mother mouse' had been. If *téq matéq-éh* only has scope over *babu,* and not the compound *onaq babu*, then it may still be functioning to indicate identifiability here. Scopal ambiguities such as this may explain why *téq matéq-éh* appears to have two contradictory functions, although a more focussed study would be needed to confirm this.

115 *Ribatu* refers to an old coconut that has already turned rotten and is thus unfit for eating. The semi-putrid flesh and oil is traditionally used as a soap for washing hair.

116 Some instances of *yoh* seem to suggest that it may be related to definiteness and/or emphasis. It may also function to delimit noun phrases, since it usually occurs as the final element. Further research is needed to clarify this.

b. *adeah satu cirito onaq tuma téq yoh*
exist one story child orphan this YOH
'there is a story about an orphan child' (OT.1)

4. Verbs and Verb Phrases

This chapter discusses verbs and verb phrases. Intransitive verbs and their properties are introduced in (§4.1), followed by a discussion of issues concerning the distinction between stative intransitive verbs and adjectives in (§4.1.1) and strategies for deriving intransitive verbs in (§4.1.2). Transitive verbs are presented in (§4.2). (§4.2.1) discusses derived transitive verbs, while (§4.2.2) addresses the Matéq voice system. Five different voice constructions are presented in the following subsections: actor voice (§4.2.2.1), undergoer voice (§4.2.2.2), analytic undergoer voice (§4.2.2.3), the passive construction (§4.2.2.4) and the anticausative construction (§4.2.2.5). This is followed by a discussion of the voice system as a whole in (§4.2.2.6). Ditransitive verbs are introduced in (§4.3).

Verbs in Matéq can be divided into two broad groups on the basis of their syntactic valency, i.e. the number of arguments that the verb requires in order for a clause in which it appears to be grammatical.[117] Intransitive verbs require only one argument, while transitive verbs require two arguments. A number of verbs are attested which require three arguments; these are the ditransitive verbs. For the purposes of this thesis, the function of each of these arguments will be referred to as follows: the sole argument of an intransitive verb is the *Subject,* the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb is the *Actor,* while the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb is the *Undergoer*. The third argument of a ditransitive verb often represents a *Location, Beneficiary, Goal* or *Recipient* (see §4.3 below).

While for the most part the distinction between intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs is represented morphologically in Matéq, there is a small group of ambitransitive[118] verbs that can appear in either intransitive or transitive clauses, without morphological change. *Man* 'eat' and *nyenèap* 'drink' are two such verbs, shown in (4.1a-b) and (4.2a-b).[119] In both (a) examples, the verbs are syntactically intransitive, i.e. they appear with only one argument.[120] In the (b) examples however, the verbs behave in a transitive-like manner by each taking a second, Undergoer, argument (in this case *babu* and *=m*). It is therefore difficult to classify these verbs on the basis of their syntax as being basically intransitive or transitive, so for the purposes of this thesis each instance will be treated individually and glossed as such.[121]

117See Payne (1997:170).

118In the sense of Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000:4-5).

119Other ambitransitive verbs attested in the data include, for instance, *nyora* 'attack', *ngonyu* 'headhunt' and *oi* 'be/have many'.

120Of course both of these verbs retain what Payne (1997:171) refers to as 'semantic' transitivity, i.e. they both imply the existence of an entity that corresponds to the undergoer, that entity is just not expressed syntactically.

121As an aside, the actor voice transitive forms *man* and *nyenèap* both have corresponding undergoer voice forms: *nan* and *senèap*. The undergoer voice forms are not attested with syntactically intransitive uses.

(4.1) a. *man bolo tomi téq matéq-éh*
eat QUAN guest this just.before
'the guests were eating' (MS1.84)

b. *ular man babu*
snake AV.eat mouse
'snakes eat mice' (DN.170)

(4.2) a. *nyenèap onaq babu aiq yoh*
drink child mouse that YOH
'the mouse pups drank' (DN.44)

b. *téq nyaq omuq nyenèap=m*
this for 2SG AV.drink=3
'this is for you to drink' (ES5b.123)

A further complication regarding the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs can be observed in (4.3a-b) below. In these examples, the verbs *ngenèi* and *noruh* appear with both an Actor argument and a second argument that appears as a prepositional phrase. In the case of *ngenèi* this second argument is a Location, while with *noruh* it is more patient-like. Both verbs require this second argument to be present in order for the clause to be grammatical. In this sense these verbs are similar to transitive verbs, in that they require two arguments. Unlike transitive verbs, however, the second argument must appear as a prepositional phrase rather than as a noun phrase which directly follows the verb, as in (4.2a) above. The second argument is also somewhat different semantically, in that it is less affected by the action of the verb than a typical Undergoer argument might be expected to be.[122] However, given that the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs given above is primarily one of valency, it makes sense to treat these verbs as transitive for the purposes of this thesis.

(4.3) a. *okoq ngenèi noq ampek cah yoh*
1SG stay at village there YOH
'I live in that village' (ES1.127)

b. *noruh=ng ngan dioq*
AV.be.angry=3 with turtle
'He was angry with the turtle' (BD.32)

A small group of verbs in Matéq differ from the majority in that they commonly occur with subject

122In (4.3a), the location *ampek* is presumably not directly affected by the speaker's presence there. In (4.3b), the turtle can be considered the stimulus (in the sense of Kearns 2011:212) of the speaker's anger, rather than a directly affected patient or undergoer.

marking (see §6.7). Although a more detailed study may reveal that these 'subject-marking' verbs form a distinct lexical class in Matéq, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to claim that this is the case on the basis of this study alone.[123] For the purposes of this thesis then, these verbs will be grouped together with other, 'non-subject-marking' verbs without further comment.

As with nouns, verbs may be part of a compound. Most compound verbs in Matéq are made up of two precategorial elements as in (4.4a-c). These verbs were often considered by language consultants to be 'deep language' (Indonesian: *bahasa dalam*) – a term that refers to older or archaic speech.[124] Compound verbs differ from serial verb constructions (see §7.1) in that the two elements of the compound form a close syntactic unit (i.e. no other constituent of a clause may intervene), and also in their often onomatopoeic nature. Some compounds, such as (4.4b-c), imply iterative action, much like reduplicated verbs (see §4.1).

(4.4) a. *mamaq-mumuq*
speak.quietly
'speak quietly out of fear'

b. *goték-gurus*
climb.repeatedly
'climb up and down repeatedly'

c. *sebeq-bilep*
repeat
'repeat many times'

4.1 Intransitive Verbs

As noted above, intransitive verbs are verbs that require only one argument (the Subject). This argument may be actor-like as in (4.5a), or undergoer-like as in (4.5b), and can appear before (4.5a-b) or after (4.5c) the verb.

(4.5) a. *Markus* *nyidoq*
M speak
'*Markus* speaks' (ES1.63)

123As the list of subject-marking verbs in (§6.7) reveals, there are no obvious uniting semantic features of these verbs, although a good many of them are 'psych' verbs (see Kearns 2011:212).
124It is not clear whether or not this label reflects the actual usage of these forms in everyday speech.

b. *sengkeat* *aiq* *yoh* *robuq*
larva that YOH fall
'the worm fell down' (T.28)

c. *maman* *ribatu=ng*
float.away old.coconut=3
'her coconut floated away' (OB.11)

In morphological terms, intransitive verbs may be either derived or basic, i.e. showing no obvious signs of derivation. The various types of derived intransitive verbs are discussed further in (§4.1.2) below. Basic intransitives include verbs of action and movement such as *nyidoq* and *robuq* in the examples above, as well as quantificational, intensificational and aspectual verbs.

Quantificational verbs such as *oi* 'be many' (4.6a) and *cuk* 'be few' (4.6b) encode information about the quantity of their subjects and are used in a similar way to non-verbal quantifiers in other languages. These verbs are also attested in serial verb constructions, such as (4.7a-b). Interestingly, *oi* may also appear as a transitive verb meaning 'have many', as in examples (4.8a-b).[125]

(4.6) a. *jéh* *oi* *naq* *nsio*
PRFT be.many child human.being
'there were already many humans' (MS1.35)

b. *moru* *cuk* *ngeh* *géq,* *onaq* *babu* *téq* *matéq-éh*
hence be.few 3 MIR child mouse this just.before
'so there were only a few of them, the mouse pups' (OB.69)

(4.7) a. *jéh* *oi* *datn* *noput* *buoq* *songa* *téq* *matéq-éh* [...]
PRFT be.many 3PL AV.find fruit S this just.before
'when they had got lots of *songa* fruit...' (BD.27)

b. *roya* *ngeh* *rimoméq* *oi* *rayo*
saliva 3 dribble be.many very
'he's dribbling a lot' (ES2.172)
(lit. his saliva is dribbling very much)

(4.8) a. *pasti* *adeapm* *diq* *oi* *jajaq=ng*
surely 3SG REL have.many cake=3
'it would surely be her that would have the most cakes' (BO.11)

b. *maaf,* *okoq* *oi* *tugas*
sorry 1SG have.many task
'sorry, I've got lots of work to do[126]' (SG.31)

125*Oi* can therefore be considered ambitransitive, like *man* and *nyenèap* introduced above.
126*Maaf* and *tugas* are most probably borrowings from Indonesian.

Intensificational verbs encode information about the intensity of an action or event.[127] Such verbs include *kaléq* (4.9a-d) and *palik* (4.10), glossed here as 'be very'. Intensificational verbs generally appear in serial verb constructions (4.9a-b), but are also attested with non-verbal predicates such as (4.9c).

(4.9) a. *kaléq putua sibereaq*
be.very stomach be.hungry
'(he) was famished' (MS1.135)

b. *kaléq owa=ng roq man laok*
be.very soul=3 want AV.eat side.dish
'he really wanted to eat something with his rice' (T.2-3)
(lit. his soul was very much wanting to eat a side dish)

c. *kudiq kaléq=ng pulima*
since be.very=3 warrior
'because they really (considered themselves) warriors' (MS2.41)

(4.10) *tungkah ampek téq palik=ng sunyi*
PROG village this be.very=3 quiet
'the village was really quiet' (OT.26)

Aspectual verbs such as *koloq* 'to have ever done' (4.11a) and *tungkah* 'progressive aspect marker' (4.11b) are used to mark aspect in a clause. They usually form serial verb constructions with the main verb in a clause (see §7.1), and may take subject marking (see §6.7). See (§6.4.2) for more on aspect in Matéq.

(4.11) a. *okoq koloq koq man neh*
1SG ever 1SG eat 3
'I've eaten it before' (ES3.65)

b. *matéq tuet=n, okoq tungkah koq man*
soon first=ADV 1SG PROG 1SG eat
'just a moment, I'm eating' (ES3.62)

4.1.1 Stative Intransitive Verbs vs. Adjectives

The identification of adjectives as a distinct word class has been the subject of much discussion

127They are therefore functionally equivalent to intensifiers in other languages.

cross-linguistically.[128] In Matéq, lexemes that are potential candidates for analysis as adjectives on semantic grounds[129] share almost all of their morphosyntactic features with stative intransitive verbs. For instance, both groups may be derived with the prefixes *m-* or *bu-* (see §4.1.2), both groups may be reduplicated to show intensity and/or plurality of subjects, and both groups appear inside relative clauses when modifying nouns (see §3.3).[130] For the purposes of this thesis, then, it is assumed that adjectives do not form a separate word class in Matéq. This proposal is made tentatively and only on the basis of a lack of distinguishing evidence found in the data collected for this study. Further research may reveal more definite morphosyntactic distinctions that would allow a separate word class to be posited. One possible direction for a more detailed study might be to investigate two constructions that were only attested with adjective candidates in the data: predicates introduced by *baq*, and intensification with *ebeq=ng*.

Predicates with *baq* (4.12a) typically describe the physical appearance of their subjects and are interchangeable with standard predicates that do not contain *baq* (4.12b). The lexeme *baq* itself also occurs as a noun meaning 'head'.

(4.12) a.

ular	*at*	*yoh*	*baq*	*doi*
snake	that	YOH	head	big

'That snake is big' (i.e. not just it's head) (ES1.85)

b.

bota	*koyuh*	*diq*	*tumà*	*aiq*	*yoh*	*doi*
trunk	wood	REL	fall.over	that	YOH	big

'the tree that fell down was big' (ES5b.113)

The intensifier *ebeq=ng* 'extremely' (4.13) is also only attested with adjective-like intransitive verbs. Interestingly *ebeq* itself is a verb meaning 'be stupid'. When functioning as an intensifier, however, *ebeq* is consistently attested with adverbial *ngéh* (see §6.6).

(4.13)

baék-baék	*ebeq=ng*	*si-dari*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
good-RED	extremely=ADV	NOM-male	this	just.before

'the man was extremely (lit. stupidly) handsome' (DN.93)

There are two types of constructions involving stative intransitive verbs (i.e. adjective candidates) that deserve further mention: the comparative construction and the stative intransitive anticausative construction.

128See Dixon (2004), Baker (2003), Davis (2011), Hofherr (2010) and Payne (1997).
129Such as words that describe dimension, age, value and colour (see Dixon 2004:3-4).
130Relative clauses in Matéq may be unmarked, making it difficult to distinguish between an unmarked relative clause and direct attribution. See section (§3.3.5).

Comparative constructions are formed with intransitive predicates that are modified by a prepositional phrase headed by *soq* 'from' (4.14a-c). This prepositional phrase also contains a noun phrase which is interpreted as the object of comparison; in (4.14a) this is the first person singular pronoun *okoq*. The intransitive predicate in comparative constructions may also appear clause-initially, as in (4.14b).

(4.14) a. *nadéq aiq yoh tuh soq okoq*
child that YOH old from 1SG
'he's older than me' (ES2.31)

b. *doi pasaq soq oni*
big peg from post
'the peg is bigger than the post[131]' (SP.24)

Equative comparative clauses are formed with intransitive verbs derived from nouns, which have themselves been derived from stative intransitive verbs with the prefix *si-*. Examples include *sikomùh* 'be the same length as'[132] (4.15a) and *sikoi* 'be the same size as' (4.15b). The object of comparison appears as a prepositional phrase headed by *ngan* 'with'.

(4.15) a. *nyo téq éh si-k-omùh ngan nyo at yoh*
person this EMP SI-NOM-long with person that YOH
'this person is as tall as that person' (ES2.61)

b. *dout koyuh téq si-k-oi ngan diq cah*
leaf wood this SI-NOM-big with REL there
'this leaf is as big as that one' (ES2.74)

Stative intransitive anticausative constructions (4.16a-b) are formed with intransitive predicates that are modified by a prepositional phrase headed by *kaneh* (see §5.10). The addition of this prepositional phrase causes the clause to have a transitive interpretation, where the state of affairs described by the verb has come about through a Cause, represented by the prepositional phrase itself, as seen in (4.16a). Stative intransitive anticausative constructions can be negated with the negative verb *ikai* as in (4.16b), where it appears as the shortened form *ka*.

131The expression 'the peg is bigger than the post' refers to someone who is overambitious. The saying is attested in the speech of many Dayak tribes, see Tjia (2007) for the Mualang version.

132The analysis assumed here is *omùh* 'be long' > *k-omùh* 'length' > *si-k-omùh* 'be the same length as'. It is not clear how this use of the prefix *si-* relates to its other appearances with intransitive verbs (see §4.1.2).

(4.16) a. *kolap téq korik kaneh datnéh*
pool this dry by 3PL
'this pool was dried out by them' (ES1.32)
(lit. this pool (was caused to be) dry by them)

b. *kolap téq ka ngéh korik kaneh datnéh*
pool this NEG 3 dry by 3PL
'they're not able to dry out this pool' (ES1.34)
(lit. this pool was not (caused to be) dry by them)

4.1.2 Derived Intransitive Verbs

Many intransitive verbs show evidence of derivation. This is achieved through a variety of morphological strategies including infixation and reduplication (discussed at the end of this section). The most productive means of deriving intransitive verbs in Matéq, however, is through prefixation with one or more of the following morphemes: *bu-*, *N-*, *m(u)-*, *si-*, *ti-*, *ri-*, *pari-*, *paku-*, and *pasi-*.

The prefix *bu-* may form intransitive verbs from nominal (4.17b-e) or precategorial (4.17a) bases. The resulting verb is usually semantically related to the base, as seen in (4.17b-e). In some cases it is used to signify certain types of possession, such as the bodypart-owner relationship in (4.17d). When *bu-* is attached to a base that begins with a vowel, an alveolar trill /r/ is often inserted between the prefix and base, as in (4.17e).[133]

(4.17) a. *bu-jalat*
BU-walk
'walk' *(jalat* is precategorial)

b. *bu-nturu* cf. *nturu*
BU-egg egg
'lay an egg' 'egg'

c. *bu-boneh* cf. *boneh*
BU-husband husband
'marry (a husband)' 'husband'

133In some cases *bu-* attaches directly to a vowel-initial base, e.g. *bu-ompek* 'of a village'. It is not clear without further research if there is any pattern to whether the trill is inserted or not. Another irregular form of *bu-* is seen in the verb *pur-odat* 'have the name of' (cf. *odat* 'name'). Here the initial consonant of the prefix is a plain voiceless bilabial plosive /p/. This was the only attestation of the voiceless variant in the data collected for this study.

d. *bu-mateh* cf. *mateh*
BU-eye eye
'have eyes' 'eye'

e. *bur-odéq* cf. *odéq*
BU-younger.sibling younger.sibling
'be related' 'younger sibling'

The prefix *bu-* also forms intransitive verbs which imply reciprocity or plurality of action, such as in (4.18a-b). In these examples all of the participants are engaged in fighting or whispering, respectively. The second argument of these verbs usually appears as a prepositional phrase headed by *ngan* 'with'. Reciprocal *bu-* usually attaches to verbal bases.

(4.18) a. *bu-kobis=ng ngan nyo lawat*
BU-kill=3 with person opponent
'he fought with the enemy' (MS2.101)

b. *balo nadéq at yoh bu-subuaq*
QUAN child that YOH BU-whisper
'those children are whispering to each other' (ES3.166)

Intransitive verbs may also be formed from nouns and other (possibly bound) bases with the homorganic nasal prefix *N-*.[134] This prefix may replace the initial consonant of the base with a homorganic nasal consonant (4.19a) or prenasalised plosive (4.19b). Some verbs, such as (4.19c), have both unaffixed and prenasalised plosive forms; this may be due to dialectal variation. Most of the verbs formed by *N-* take agent-like subjects, although a few seem to be more patient-like e.g. *ntais* 'drip on its own'.

(4.19) a. *mapiat* cf. *papiat*
trap trap
'set a *papiat* trap' 'a kind of tree-top animal trap'

b. *ngkék* cf. *kék-kék*
whine whine-RED
'whine' 'whine' (plural subject)

c. *póngóq ~ mpóngóq*
visit
'visit another village'

134*N-* seems to have a variety of functions in Matéq. See (§4.2.1) and (§4.2.2.1).

One intransitive verb attested in the data (4.20) appears to be formed with the prefix *nge-*. This form may be a variant of *N-* that occurs with bases that begin with a nasal consonant, although it is not clear how widespread it may be in the lexicon.

(4.20)	*ngemeh*		cf.	*meh*
	make.rice.field			rice.field
	'make a rice field'			'rice field'

A number of intransitive verbs in Matéq appear with the prefix *m(u)-*. Some of these verbs (4.21a-b) are formed from nominal bases, in which case the resulting verb describes an action or event that is semantically related to the noun. Other verbs (4.21c-d) do not have bases attested in the data but appear to be derived from the same roots as some semantically similar transitive verbs (both forms could conceivably be derived from unattested bound stems).[135]

(4.21)	a.	*medeap*	cf.	*edeap*
		living.one		living.one
		'be alive'		'living one'[136]
	b.	*munengeh*	cf.	*nengeh*
		celebrate.harvest		harvest.time
		'celebrate harvest festival'		'harvest time'
	c.	*mamuh*	cf.	*ntamuh*
		bathe		AV.bathe
		'bathe' (intransitive)		'bathe' (transitive)
	d.	*mentek*	cf.	*ngentek*
		left.behind		AV.leave.behind
		'be left behind'		'leave behind' (transitive)

The prefix *si-* is found on some intransitive verbs such as (4.22a-c). Verbs with this prefix tend to be associated with plurality, either by taking plural subjects (4.22a) or by implying movement of multiple entities, e.g. teeth in (4.22b). In (4.22a) the prefix attaches to a verb base,[137] while possible bases for (4.22b) and (4.22c) were not attested in the data. The prefix *si-* also appears on equative

135One verb with *m(u)-*, *munjadi* 'grow up all over the place, increase' appears to be related to another intransitive verb, *jodi* (var. *jadi*) 'become'.

136The exact translation and word class of *edeap* is unclear. It appears in the following phrase: *mmàt edeap=m* 'bring one that's still alive'.

137Given that transitive verbs beginning with /l/ or /r/ do not appear with the homorganic nasal prefix *N-*, it is not possible to say whether the transitive verb *langkok* (shown above) is itself the base of *silangkok*, or whether both the intransitive and transitive forms derive from an unattested homophonous (presumably verbal) base *langkok*.

comparative verbs (see §4.1.1).

(4.22) a. *si-langkok*
SI-beat
'go ahead of each other'

cf. *langkok*
beat
'beat, go ahead of (in race)' (transitive)

b. *si-nétér*
SI-shake
'shake (of teeth or hand)'

c. *si-rampuaq*
SI-share
'share by agreement'

Another type of intransitive verb, anticausative verbs (see §4.2.2.5), may be derived with the prefixes *ti-* and *ri-*. In some cases these prefixes appear to be interchangeable (4.23a), while in other cases only one of the two prefixes is attested with a particular verb (4.23b&c). There is also some variation in the type of bases to which *ti-* and *ri-* attach. In (4.23a) they attach to a nominal base, but in (4.23b) and (4.23c) they attach to intransitive and (undergoer voice) transitive verbal bases, respectively.

(4.23) a. *ti-kopek ~ ri-kopek*
ACAUS-cut
'get cut'

cf. *kopek*
cut
'cut' (noun)

b. *ti-nyongkaq*
ACAUS-trip.over
'trip over'

c. *ri-tobuat*
ACAUS-UV.pull.out
'come out (on it's own)'

The prefixes *pari-* (4.24a-b) and *pasi-* (4.25a-b) are attested on intransitive verbs that describe onomatopoeic noises. Some verbs that appear with *pasi-* take plural subjects (4.25a), while others do not appear to have any number restrictions on their subjects (4.25b).

(4.24) a. *pari-kitok*
PARI-ONOM
'make cracking noise'

b. *pari-pecep*
PARI-ONOM
'make crunching noise'

(4.25) a. *pasi-kurés*
PASI-ONOM
'sound of animals in forest'

b. *pasi-ginòk*
PASI-ONOM
'sound of walking through thick tall grass'

The prefix *paku-* (4.26a-b) appears on intransitive verbs that describe noises made by animate entities, such as animal calls. These verbs usually take plural subjects[138] and can be compared with reduplicated forms that take singular subjects and often imply iterative action (see discussion of reduplication below).[139] In some cases the prefix may combine with a reduplicated form as in (4.26c), resulting in an iterative onomatopoeic verb that takes plural subjects.

(4.26) a. *paku-kaok*
PAKU-ONOM
'whimper' (i.e. dogs)

cf. *kaok-kaok*
ONOM-RED
'whimper' (i.e. a single dog)

b. *paku-cit*
PAKU-ONOM
'cheep' (i.e. baby chicks)

cf. *cit-cit*
ONOM-RED
'cheep' (i.e. a single baby chick)

c. *paku-cicit*
PAKU-ONOM
'cheep' (i.e. baby chicks)

There is also evidence for a possible prefix or phonestheme[140] *r-* on some intransitive verbs, such as (4.27a-d). These verbs tend to take subjects that are patient-like, and the action or state denoted by the verb often affects or involves the body of (or a body part of) the subject in some way.

(4.27) a. *rimoméq*
dribble
'dribble'

138One lexeme, *pakukurés* 'sound of an animal in the forest', apparently takes singular subjects (cf. *pasikurés* above).
139The three prefixes *pari-, pasi-* and *paku-* may provide evidence for the existence of a second-order prefix *pa-* (which then combines with *ri-, si-* and *ku-*). Further investigation is needed to determine if this is or has been the case.
140See Blust 2003 for more on the notion of phonesthemes.

b. *rigaya*
squirm
'squirm'

c. *rupep*
face.down
'face down'

d. *rucuah*
spit
'spit'

A small group of intransitive verbs of motion, including (4.28a-d), suggest the existence of an infix <*im*>. This infix is not widely productive and may thus be a historical remnant. <*im*> attaches to nouns of location, with the resulting verbs denoting motion towards or orientation towards that location.

(4.28) a. *timonoq*
descend
'descend'

cf. *tonoq*
earth
'earth'

b. *jimoyeh*
go.up.to.land
'go up to land'

cf. *doyeh*
land
'land'

c. *simopoq*
go.outside
'go outside'

cf. *sopoq*
outside
'outside'

d. *simojuq*
face.upstream
'pointing upstream'[141]

cf. *sojuq*
upstream
'upstream'

There are a number of intransitive verbs that appear in reduplicated form. These are usually associated with onomatopoeic representations of sounds and movements (see translations below). Some of the verbs in this group, such as (4.29a-b), are only attested in reduplicated form, while others such as (4.29c-e), also occur in non-reduplicated form. In cases like (4.29c-e) where both reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms are attested, the former usually takes a singular subject while the latter takes a plural subject. Reduplication in Matéq most commonly involves a repetition of the entire verb (4.29a-b), although there are a few possible instances of partial reduplication such

141Said, for instance, of an *iju* trap, which usually faces downstream.

as (4.26c) above. Reduplicated forms often imply iterative or intensive action. This is particularly evident in (4.29f-h).

(4.29) a. *gowél-gowél*
wobble-RED
'wobble'

b. *kurak-kurak*
bubble-RED
'sound of boiling rice'

c. *kék-kék*
whine-RED
'whine' (i.e. a dog)

cf. *pakukék*
PAKU-whine
'whine' (i.e. many dogs)

d. *kaok-kaok*
whimper-RED
'whimper' (i.e. a dog)

cf. *pakukaok*
PAKU-whimper
'whimper' (i.e. many dogs)

e. *lapiat-lapiat*
wrap-RED
'wrap up' (i.e. lots of small things)

cf. *lapiat*
wrap
'wrap up' (i.e. one small thing)

f. *kényét-kényét*
bounce-RED
'bounce up and down'

g. *bedep-bedep*
blink-RED
'blink repeatedly'

h. *kasea-kasea*
breathe-RED
'be puffed'

cf. *ngasea*
AV.breathe
'breathe'

4.2 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs take two arguments: an Actor and an Undergoer. In typical transitive clauses both the Actor and Undergoer arguments are expressed as either full noun phrases, prepositional phrases or pronouns, but in contexts where one or both of the arguments are highly salient in discourse they may be ellipted.

Transitive verbs may be morphologically bare, e.g. *lasah* 'flog', or derived by means of affixation or vowel change. Derivational processes that form transitive verbs are discussed in (§4.2.1). All transitive verbs, bare or derived, are interpreted as inherently belonging to one of two syntactic voices (hereafter *voice*[142]): actor voice or undergoer voice. This inherent voice form may then be further inflected to form additional voices. The voice of a given verb (inherent or inflected) is strongly connected to its function and will determine, among other things, the word order of the clause in which the verb appears. In addition, some verbs seem to show a slight change in meaning between their actor and undergoer voice forms.[143] Further discussion of voice is given in (§4.2.2.6) below.

4.2.1 Derived Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs in Matéq may be derived from a variety of bases through affixation and/or vowel change. The resulting verbs can be divided into inherently actor voice and inherently undergoer voice verbs, while further inflection[144] may form additional voices, see (§4.2.2). The result of this is that some verbs have only one derived form (4.30a),[145] while other verbs have both actor and undergoer voice derived forms (4.30b). On the surface, the two forms observed with the latter group of verbs often seem like inflectional alternations. However, the exact undergoer or actor voice form of a verb is rarely predictable on the basis of its other voice form alone, e.g. (4.30c-d). The two forms are thus analysed in this study as alternations between derived actor and undergoer voice verbs. In cases where a verb has only one derived form (which is usually an actor voice form), undergoer voice may be formed through the use of inflectional voice morphology, e.g. (4.30a). See (§4.2.2) for more on voice.

(4.30)	a.	*ngkisoq*	vs.	*ni-ngkisoq*
		AV.wet		UV-AV.wet
		'make wet' (actor voice)		'make wet' (undergoer voice)

142In this chapter the term *voice* is taken to refer to the syntactic patterns discussed further below. This is not to be confused with the phonetic term *voice,* which refers to vibration of the vocal cords.

143For instance *mogea* 'hold, grasp' (actor voice) is generally used when referring to concrete objects, while *tagea* 'hold, grasp' (undergoer voice) is also attested figuratively in the sense of 'understand'. This difference may simply be a matter of interpretation.

144In this study, morphology that changes a lexeme's word class is taken to be derivational, while morphology that does not change word class is taken to be inflectional. This means that some prefixes, such as the homorganic nasal prefix *N-* (see below), can function as both a derivational prefix (when it changes word class, e.g. *kopik* 'ear' > *ngopik* 'hear'), and an inflectional prefix (when it does not change word class, e.g. *tenteh* 'forget' (undergoer voice) > *nenteh* 'forget' (actor voice)). Other prefixes such as the undergoer voice prefix *ni-* (see §4.2.2.2), however, do not change word class, and are thus always considered inflectional (e.g. 4.30a).

145The form *ngkisoq* 'make wet' is analysed here as a derivation (with the homorganic nasal prefix *N-*) from a base that is shared by the stative intransitive verb *bisoq* 'be wet'. The undergoer voice form *ni-ngkisoq* shown on the right-hand side is analysed here as an inflected form of *ngkisoq*.

b. *ngopik* vs. *kapik*
AV.hear UV.hear
'hear' (actor voice) 'hear' (undergoer voice)

c. *moroq* vs. *saroq*
AV.forbid UV.forbid
'forbid' (actor voice) 'forbid' (undergoer voice)

d. *mungkuat* vs. *tukuat*
AV.take UV.take
'take' (actor voice) 'take' (undergoer voice)

The homorganic nasal prefix *N-* (4.31a-c) can derive transitive verbs from nominal bases.[146] The resulting verbs are inherently in actor voice and are often associated with causative meanings *vis-à-vis* their bases. As with intransitive verbs in (§4.1.2), *N-* replaces the initial consonant of the base with either a homorganic nasal consonant (4.31a) or a homorganic prenasalised plosive (4.31b). Some verbs such as (4.31c) are attested in two forms, one with a nasal consonant and another with a prenasalised consonant. These forms may be dialectal variants. In some cases the difference between an initial nasal consonant and an initial prenasalised plosive is the sole distinguishing factor between the actor voice forms of two separate verbs, e.g. (4.31d). Sometimes the contrast is instead between related transitive and intransitive verbs such as (4.31e). The prefix *N-* does not appear on verbs that begin with the consonants /l/ or /r/. Such verbs are often phonologically identical to related nouns, as in (4.31f), and the two can only be differentiated through context.[147]

(4.31) a. *ngopik* cf. *kopik*
AV.hear ear
'hear' 'ear'

b. *mpemeh* cf. *pemeh*
AV.dream dream
'dream, dream about' 'dream' (noun)

146This prefix is presumably related to, though functionally distinct from, the homorganic nasal prefix which derives intransitive verbs (§4.1.2), and the inflectional homorganic nasal prefix which indicates actor voice on some verbs (§4.2.2.1). On the surface, these different functions of *N-* are not distinguishable, and its function in any given instance must be determined by considering both the transitivity of the resulting verb (intransitive derivational *N-* only appears with intransitive verbs) and the word class of the verb's base (derivational *N-* only attaches to non-verbal bases, while inflectional *N-* only attaches to verbal bases). These three functions of N- are most likely historically related, although a full investigation into whether a unified account is possible is beyond the scope of this thesis.

147An alternative analysis might be that *N-* has a phonetically null variant when prefixed to verbs beginning with /l/ or /r/.

c. *nsinoq ~ nyinoq*
AV.strike
'strike'

d. *modoq*
AV.order
'order'
vs. *mpodoq*
AV.show
'show'

e. *moriq*
return.home
'return home' (intransitive)
vs. *mporiq*
AV.return
'return' (transitive)

f. *ronù*
AV.dry.out
'dry out in the sun'
vs. *ronù*
heat
'heat (from the sun)'

Several verbs have actor voice forms that begin with a nasal consonant or prenasalised plosive, but which do not have related forms with initial consonants at the same place of articulation. For instance the pair in (4.32a) includes the transitive verb *ngkodap* 'keep until rotten', which begins with a prenasalised velar plosive, but also the intransitive verb *modap* 'be rotten', which begins with a bilabial nasal. In (4.32b) the related intransitive verb begins with a bilabial plosive. The verbs in (4.32c-d) show a similar pattern, although the transitive verbs may each appear with either an initial nasal consonant or an initial prenasalised plosive (again, this is possibly dialectal variation). The verbs in (4.30c-d) above also have non-homorganic derived forms. The reason why these patterns exist is not clear, and a more detailed study is needed to determine their origin.[148] For the purposes of this study, however, these verbs will simply be glossed as derived actor voice verbs.

(4.32) a. *ngkodap*
AV.rotten
'keep until rotten'
cf. *modap*
rotten
'be rotten'

b. *ngkisoq*
AV.wet
'make wet'
cf. *bisoq*
wet
'wet'

148There are many possible situations that could explain these non-homorganic alternations. For instance, one option could be that both verb forms are derived with various prefixes from a base that begins with a vowel, e.g. **odap* > *m-odap*, *ngk-odap*. Another option is that one of the two forms is basic, and the other form is derived with a replacive prefix, e.g. *modap* > *ngkodap* (cf. the intransitive prefix *m-*, see §4.1.2). Yet another possibility is that a vowel-initial base is affixed with two separate consonants, which are in turn affixed with the homorganic nasal prefix *N-*, e.g. **odap* > **podap,* **kodap* > *modap*, *ngkodap* (interestingly the form *kodap* does occur the lexicon as a noun meaning 'rotten carcass' or 'rotten smell').

c.	*namuh ~ ntamuh* AV.bathe 'bathe' (transitive)		cf.	*mamuh* bathe 'bathe' (intransitive)
d.	*naman ~ ntaman* AV.float.away 'cause to be swept away'		cf.	*maman* float.away 'float away' (intransitive)

The verbs in (4.33a-b) below may provide evidence for a derivational actor voice transitive infix <*m*>. This can be seen by considering the transitive verbs, which contain a word-medial bilabial nasal [m] followed by an oral vowel, in comparison with their related intransitives, which contain a word-medial voiced bilabial plosive [b]. In example (4.33b) the bilabial nasal co-occurs with the homorganic nasal prefix *N*-, while in (4.33a) it is the sole morphological indicator of transitivity (this is expected given that *N*- does not co-occur with initial /l/ or /r/).

(4.33) a.	*romùq* AV.fall 'cause to fall, drop' (transitive)		cf.	*robuq* fall 'fall' (intransitive)
b.	*ngkomìs* AV.kill 'kill'		cf.	*kobis* dead 'dead'

Based on the proposed historical reduction of word-medial nasal–voiced obstruent clusters discussed in (§2.1.2), it is possible that these transitive forms have been derived by the affixation of a (now fossilised) infix <*m*>. This infix would presumably have been inserted directly before an original word-medial [b], resulting in a cluster [mb] which has since been reduced.[149] This assumes, however, that the transitive verb has been derived from a base that was at some stage phonologically identical to the intransitive verb. Whatever their origin, verbs of this type are very rare in the lexicon, and the process(es) involved in their derivation do not appear to be widely productive.

Undergoer voice verbs may be derived from nominal bases through a change in the quality of their penultimate vowel. This can be seen in examples (4.34a-c) below where the low central vowel /a/ occurs in the penultimate syllable of each verb. These forms can be compared with the nouns in the right-hand column, which all contain mid-high or mid-low back vowels. In (4.34d) the low central

149E.g. **robuq* > **rombuq* > *romùq*

vowel /a/ in the undergoer voice verb on the left corresponds to a high central vowel /ɨ/ (represented as <e>) in the actor voice form on the right. Both of these verbs may be derived from an unattested base.[150] The example in (4.34e) shows an undergoer voice verb that appears to have been derived from the noun *tongan* 'hand' with a vowel change to /i/. This is the only attested example of a change to /i/ and it is thus unclear how widespread this change may be in the lexicon.

(4.34)	a.	*kapik* UV.hear 'hear'	cf.	*kopik* ear 'ear'
	b.	*papet* UV.cut.base 'cut (the base of a branch)'	cf.	*popet* base.of.branch 'base of a branch'
	c.	*papóq* UV.premasticate 'pre-chew'	cf.	*pópóq* premasticated.food 'pre-chewed food'
	d.	*kasek* UV.chase 'chase' (undergoer voice)	cf.	*ngesek* AV.chase 'chase' (actor voice)
	e.	*tingan* UV.carry.in.hand 'carry in hand'	cf.	*tongan* arm 'hand'

A number of undergoer voice transitive verbs, such as (4.35a-c), appear with an initial voiceless alveolar plosive /t/. This appears to function as a derivational prefix, as can be seen when the verbs below are compared with related forms. In examples (4.35a) and (4.35c) the prefix *t-* co-occurs with a penultimate vowel change to /a/, while in (4.35b) it is the sole morphological indicator of transitivity.

(4.35)	a.	*tancit* UV.scoop 'scoop up'	cf.	*oncit* scoop 'scoop' (noun)
	b.	*toboq* UV.call 'call'	cf.	*boboq* mouth 'mouth, lips'

150An intransitive verb with the prefix *bu-* may contain this nominal base: *bukesek* 'run'.

c.	*tagea*		cf.	*bu-pogea*
	UV.hold			BU-hold
	'hold'			'hold up oneself'

There is one example, given in (4.36), of an undergoer voice verb with what looks like a derivational prefix *ki-*. It is unclear at this stage whether or not this prefix is more widespread in the lexicon.

(4.36)	*kinyam*		cf.	*nyam*
	UV.feel			feeling
	'feel'			'feeling'

Several undergoer voice verbs in Matéq are derived from nominal bases with the prefix *n-*, shown in (4.37a-c). These verbs form a unique group in that they are the only derived undergoer voice verbs that have an initial nasal consonant.[151] This makes distinguishing between the actor and undergoer voice forms of these verbs only possible on the basis of the place of articulation of their initial nasal consonant: undergoer voice forms have an initial alveolar nasal, e.g. *natuh* 'climb (undergoer voice), while actor voice forms have an initial non-alveolar nasal,[152] e.g. *ngatuh* 'climb (actor voice)'.

(4.37) a.	*natuh*		cf.	*atuh*
	UV.climb			top.of.tree
	'climb'			'top of tree'
b.	*nawei*		cf.	*gawei*
	UV.do.gawei			gawei.festival
	'have a *gawei* festival'			'*gawei* festival'[153]
c.	*neyengk*		cf.	*eyek*
	UV.winnow			eyek.basket
	'winnow rice by shaking in an *eyek*'			'*eyek* basket'

151The only other undergoer voice verbs that have an initial nasal consonant are those inflected with the prefix *ni-,* see (§4.2.2.2) below. It is possible in fact that the prefix *n-* is a historical simplification of the *ni-* prefix, especially given the phonological similarity between the derived and inflected undergoer voice forms of these verbs, which are functionally interchangeable, e.g. *nawei* ~ *ningawei* 'have a *gawei* festival'.

152The most commonly attested initial non-alveolar nasals with these forms were the velar nasal and postalveolar nasal.

153The *gawei* festival proper, also called *mporiq sowoq,* occurs at the end of the year's rice harvest, see (§1.2). In some cases additional festivals may be called *gawei,* such as in one story where a group of headhunters celebrate their (supposed) imminent victory by having a night-long *gawei*.

4.2.2 Voice System

Voice is often considered to be a valency-changing operation which results in an alternation between a fully transitive active voice (where the Actor is subject) and a syntactically intransitive passive voice (where the Undergoer is subject).[154] Passive voice in this approach characteristically 'demotes' the Actor of a clause from its status as a core argument, to become an optionally expressed oblique element. This definition accurately describes the situation in many languages such as English. As Himmelmann (2002:12-13) points out, however, many Austronesian languages do not have prototypical active/passive alternations that involve a change in valency. This is also the case in Matéq, where the following five constructions are observed:

(4.38) a. *kosuh at yoh ngkuet nyo cah yoh*
dog that YOH AV.bite person there YOH
'the dog bites that person' (ES2.92)

b. *capéq=ng buoq songa téq matéq-éh*
UV.pick=3 fruit S this just.before
'he picked the *songa* fruit' (BD.23)

c. *balo rua karék ni koq mpulua matéq-éh*
QUAN seed rubber UV 1SG AV.gather just.before
'I gathered some rubber seeds earlier' (ES3.192)

d. *at yoh jéh ni-ngorik*
that YOH PRFT UV-AV.dry.out
'it's been dried out' (ES2.124)

e. *baq=ng ti-rompas noq sarih*
head=3 ACAUS-crash.down at floor
'her head whacked on the floor' (SG.12)
(i.e. when she fell down the stairs)

As can be seen, the five constructions in (4.38a-e) vary in the number of arguments that are syntactically present and whether or not they involve a change in valency. In (4.38a-c) both the actor and undergoer arguments are present, and these clauses can thus be considered syntactically transitive. In contrast, only one argument appears in each of the syntactically intransitive clauses in (4.38d-e).[155]

While this sort of complexity has lead many linguists to avoid using the term *voice*

154See, for instance, Payne (1997), Keenan & Dryer (2007) and Givón (1994).
155(4.38e) is also semantically intransitive (see introduction to §4).

altogether when talking about these sorts of constructions in Austronesian languages,[156] I follow Himmelmann's suggestion (2002:13) in adopting a broad definition of *voice* as a 'change in alignment between semantic role and syntactic function'. This definition allows all five of the clauses in (4.38a-e) to be considered voice alternations, regardless of whether they involve a change in valency or not. The voice system of Matéq therefore includes the following five constructions, which correspond to examples (4.38a-e) above:

(4.39) Voice in Matéq:
- a. Actor voice
- b. Undergoer voice
- c. Analytic undergoer voice
- d. Passive construction
- e. Anticausative construction

Each of these constructions is defined in this study based on their morphosyntactic and semantic features. These features include word order, morphology, semantic associations and (for the transitive voices) the issue of which of the two arguments can be considered the 'subject' of a clause. There has been much discussion concerning 'subject' status and its relationship to the notion of 'topic' in Austronesian languages,[157] but for the purposes of this study a broad definition of the term *subject* is adopted as referring to an argument which is syntactically privileged with respect to another argument in a clause. Although the limited amount of data collected for this study prevents a full analysis of syntactic privileging and subject status in Matéq, some conclusions can nevertheless be drawn by examining evidence from relative clauses and ellipsis where available. These are discussed further in the subsections below.

4.2.2.1 Actor Voice

Actor voice clauses in Matéq are those where the actor argument is the sentential subject. The clause itself is formed with an actor voice verb, which may be derived by a variety of strategies (as discussed in §4.2.1 above). Verbs that have been derived into undergoer voice, on the other hand, may be inflected with the homorganic nasal prefix *N-* as in (4.40a-b). Note that, on the surface, this prefix is identical to the derivational homorganic nasal prefix *N-* (§4.2.1); it can be distinguished from it by the fact that it attaches to a verbal base without changing word class, whereas the

156Blust (2002:73-74) lists some of the terms that have been used in the literature, including *voice, case, theme, focus, verb class, topicalisation, trigger* and *recentralisation.*

157See, for instance, Schachter (1976), Guilfoyle *et al.* (1992) and Pearson (2005).

derivational morpheme attaches to non-verbal bases.

(4.40) a. *nenteh* < *tenteh*
AV.think.about UV.think.about
'think about'

b. *ngemèt* < *kemèt*
AV.forget UV.forget
'forget'

The standard word order of actor voice clauses is AVU, as shown in (4.41a-b).

(4.41) a.
	A		V	U	
bua	*téq*	*monu*	*boboq*	*ngeh*	
bear	this	AV.take	mouth	3	

'the bear took its top (lit. mouth) part' (BD.15)
(i.e. of the basket)

b.
A		V	U		
kosuh	*at*	*yoh*	*ngkuet*	*nyo*	*cah*	*yoh*
dog	that	YOH	AV.bite	person	there	YOH

'the dog bites that person' (ES2.92)

As mentioned above, the Actor argument has a privileged syntactic position in actor voice clauses and it can be considered the sentential subject. Evidence for this can be found in relativisation and cleft constructions. In many cases in Matéq, only the sentential subject of a relative clause can be relativised (see §3.3.5). The same restriction applies to cleft constructions (see §7.5). The clauses in (4.42a-b) show that in actor voice it is the Actor which can be clefted.

(4.42) a.
			A				
ona=ng	*siq*	*datn*	*aiq*	*matéq-éh*	*diq*	*mmàt*	*opi*
guess=3	SIQ	3PL	that	just.before	REL	AV.bring	fire

'they had thought that it was them that had been carrying the fire' (ES3.146)

b.
A			
Markus	*diq*	*mangkok*	*Nila*
M	REL	AV.hit	N

'it was *Markus* who hit *Nila*' (ES3.211)

The subject status of the Actor argument in actor voice clauses is also suggested by its behaviour in ellipsis. In order to gain a clear picture of ellipsis in its discourse context a sample of discourse data

was taken. This sample comprised 309 transitive clauses from seven texts that were recorded during the research period.[158] Clauses that contained negatives, imperatives or questions were not included. In this sample there were a total of 57 instances of ellipsis in actor voice clauses, as in (4.43) and the ellipted argument was the Actor 93% of the time. If we assume that the sentential subject is the most salient argument in discourse, and is therefore more likely to be ellipted than non-subject arguments, then the pattern observed here can be taken as evidence for the Actor's subject status.

(4.43) *nyunt* *iju*
AV.set.up fishtrap
'(he) set up a fishtrap' (MS3.110)

Actor voice in Matéq is often associated with progressive aspect. This can be seen in (4.44a-c), where the actor voice clauses all imply continuous ongoing action. The aspectual association is not universal, however, since punctual actions such as those in (4.44d-e) can also be expressed with actor voice.

(4.44) a. *usaq=ng* *ngopik* *bua* *ngesek* *adeapm*
because=3 AV.hear bear AV.chase 3SG
'because he heard the bear chasing after him' (BD.35)

b. *tumas* *Dayang* *Kumang* *téq* *mongki* *puruat*
precise D K this AV.make k.o.rice
'at that time *Dayang Kumang* was making *puruat* rice wine' (MS1.136)

c. *saja,* *oji* *poyo=ng* *aiq* *yoh,* *ngesek* *ompoq=ng*
EXCLT go.to.forest action=3 that YOH AV.chase owner=3
'Whoa, he went out the forest, chasing after his owners' (MS3.43)

d. *adeapm* *mangkok* *okoq*
3SG AV.hit 1SG
'he hit me'

e. *Luéh* *ma* *Basuaq* *géq=ng* *ngkomìs=ng*
L father B also=ADV AV.kill=3
'*Luéh ma Basuaq* also killed them' (MS2.5)

Actor voice is also commonly used to express generic or habitual action, often in tandem with the pronominal element *nyo* 'person' (see §3.2.2). This is shown in (4.45), where the verbs *minyaq* 'use' and *mongki* 'make' are in actor voice, and generic *nyo* is the subject of *mongki*.

158These texts were given by two language consultants and include several folk tales and a personal narrative.

(4.45) *téq* *minyaq* *koyuh* *nyo* *mongki* *ngéh*
this AV.use wood person AV.make 3
'this is made of wood' (ES2.2)
(lit. this, using wood, people make it)

4.2.2.2 Undergoer Voice

Undergoer voice clauses are those where the undergoer argument is the sentential subject. Morphologically, undergoer voice can be indicated by one of the inflectional prefixes *ni-* (4.46a), *ku-* (4.46b) or *pu-* (4.46c), which are affixed to the actor voice form of a verb.[159]

(4.46) a. *ni-mpit*
UV-AV.add.water.to
'add water to' (undergoer voice)
cf. *mpit*
AV.add.water.to
'add water to' (actor voice)

b. *ku-labi*
UV-AV.say
'say' (undergoer voice)
cf. *labi*
AV.say
'say' (actor voice)

c. *pu-lupiat*
UV-AV.fold.over
'fold over' (undergoer voice)
cf. *lupiat*
AV.fold.over
'fold over' (actor voice)

Many verbs are also directly derived into undergoer voice through a variety of means, as discussed in (§4.2.1) above. Many verbs, such as *mpokat* 'feed' in (4.47a-b), thus have two undergoer voice forms: one derived with a prefix or vowel change such as *pakat* (4.47a), and one inflected with a prefix such as *ni-mpokat* (4.47b).[160]

(4.47) a. *pakat* *néh* *ngan* *nyenèap* *onaq* *babu* *aiq* *yoh*
UV.feed 3 with drink child mouse that YOH
'he fed the mouse pups and (they) drank' (DN.43)

159One verb has two undergoer voice forms (possibly dialectal variants) that are difficult to analyse: *ninouq* and *tinouq* (cf. actor voice form *nouq* 'clear land for rice field'). The second variant (with /t/) may be analysed as containing either a non-nasal variant of the inflectional prefix *ni-* (e.g. *ti-nouq*) or, alternatively, an infix *-in-* (e.g. *t-in-ouq*). On the basis of this study alone it is not clear which of the two analyses may be more appropriate.

160A similar situation is reported in Court (1977) for Měntu Land Dayak.

b. *ni-mpokat=n* *onaq* *babu* *aiq* *yoh*
UV-AV.feed=3 child mouse that YOH
'she fed the mouse pups' (OB.35)

The functional difference between derived and inflected undergoer voice forms of a given verb is not clear at this stage.[161] A number of other verbs, such as those that for phonological reasons cannot appear with the undergoer voice derivational affixes, have only one undergoer voice form with the *ni-* prefix. See Appendix 2 for a comparison of some verbal voice forms.

The standard word order for undergoer voice clauses is VAU, as shown in (4.48a-c). UVA word order is also attested, as in (4.49) and (4.50a) below. Often the actor argument is encoded by a short pronoun, which may cliticise to the verb as in (4.48c). When this occurs, no other element may intervene between the verb and Actor argument. The use of pronouns in different voice constructions is further discussed in (§4.2.2.6) below.

(4.48) a.
V A U
tobat *neh* *ribatu* *nyaq* *ngisuq* *baq*
UV.carry 3 coconut for AV.wash head
'she brought an old coconut with her to wash her hair' (OB.6-7)

b.
V A U
ni-rucuah *koq* *sékét* *muq* *at*
UV-spit.on 1SG knife 2SG that
'I'll spit on that knife of yours' (BD.62)

c.
V=A U
sara=ng *Bunuo Mawa* *téq*
UV.attack=3 B M this
'they attacked *Bunuo Mawa*' (MS1.66)

(4.49)
kojoq *koq* *odok* *ni-nsinoq* *sinòq*
leg 1SG suffer UV-AV.fall.on knife
'my leg got fallen on by a knife' (ES3.60)

Evidence for the subject status of the Undergoer argument includes its behaviour in relative clauses, such as those in (4.50). In many of these constructions it is the only argument that can be relativised or fronted.

161The difference may be dialectal, or perhaps related to aspect (cf. *ni* and perfect aspect in analytic undergoer voice).

		(U)			A	
(4.50)	*bai*	*téq*	*diq*	*tagea*	*muq*	
	machete	this	REL	UV.hold	2SG	
	'this machete is the one you're holding'					(ES5b.145)

Further evidence is found from ellipsis in undergoer voice clauses, where the Undergoer is the most likely argument to be ellipted. Out of the 309-clause discourse sample introduced earlier, a total of 86 undergoer voice clauses showed argument ellipsis. The ellipted argument in these clauses was the Undergoer 74% of the time. This can be contrasted with the opposite pattern that was observed for actor voice clauses above.

Undergoer voice verbs have a strong tendency to be used in imperatives, as in (4.51a-c). This became especially evident during elicitation sessions, where language consultants frequently responded with an undergoer voice form when asked for an imperative verb. This association may be due in part to the verb-initial word order of undergoer voice clauses, which seems to be the preferred word order for imperatives as well (see §6.9).

(4.51)	a.	*kasek*	*kosuh*	*ai*	*yoh*	
		UV.chase	dog	that	YOH	
		'chase that dog!'				(ES1.113)
	b.	*ni-ngopek*	*koyuh*	*téq*		
		UV-AV.cut	thing	this		
		'cut this thing!'				(ES5.278)

Undergoer voice is also commonly used in narrative segments that describe sequential action, such as the extract in (4.52). Here, a character in the story is described as she goes about doing several consecutive activities while looking after some mice pups. The entire sequence of actions is presented in undergoer voice,[162] with the actor argument in each clause being represented by the pronoun clitic =*ng* or one of its variants.

162This use of undergoer voice differs considerably from the use of passives in other languages. As the English translation of (4.52) suggests, it is much more natural to render this extract in the English active voice (with the Actor as subject) than with passive voice. Interestingly, language consultants often translated passages like (4.52) with the Indonesian passive. For instance, the translation of (4.52) was given as *dimandikannya... dikasinya makan... ditidurkannya*.

(4.52)

ni-namuh=ng	*roma*	*onaq*	*babu*	*matéq-éh,*	*ni-namuh=ng*
UV-AV.bathe=3	many	child	mouse	just.before	UV-AV.bathe=3

baék-baék	[…]	*ni-mpokat=n*	*onaq*	*babu*	*aiq*	*yoh,*
well-RED		UV-AV.feed=3	child	mouse	that	YOH

osik	*aiq*	*ni-mpumìs=ng*
finish	that	UV-AV.put.to.sleep=3

'she bathed the many baby mice, she bathed them really well... she fed the baby mice, after that she put (them) to bed' (OB.34-35)

4.2.2.3 Analytic Undergoer Voice

In addition to the undergoer voice described above, there is another voice in Matéq where the Undergoer is the sentential subject. This voice is formed analytically with the particle *ni*[163] and is thus referred to here as *analytic undergoer voice*. In this voice, the verb appears in its actor voice form and is directly preceded by the Actor argument, which is itself preceded by the particle *ni*. The Undergoer argument may appear either before *ni* or after the verb. This creates two possible word orders for analytic undergoer voice clauses: UAV,[164] as in (4.53a) or AVU,[165] as in (4.53b).

(4.53) a.

				U	A	V
pingàt	*aiq*	*yoh*	*ni*	*koq*	*moruh*	
plate	that	YOH	UV	1SG	AV.smash	

'I smashed the plate' (ES2.115)

b.

	A			V	U	
ni	*ular*	*aiq*	*degeq*	*nyora*	*ruba*	*turuaq=ng*
UV	snake	that	constantly	AV.attack	hole	dibbling.stick=3

'the snake kept on attacking their dibbling holes' (MS1.22)

In analytic undergoer voice the Undergoer argument has subject status. Evidence for this can be found in relative clauses (4.54a) and cleft constructions (4.54b), where the Undergoer is syntactically privileged by often being the only argument that can be relativised or clefted. It is also

163This particle may alternatively be analysed as a preposition, cf. Adelaar's (2005) analysis of *di* in Salako. The particle *ni* in Matéq is almost certainly related to the prefix *ni-* described in (§4.2.1) above, however the word order of the clause is notably different when the particle is used. For this reason they are analysed as separate morphemes here.

164Analytic undergoer voice in Matéq is similar in word order (although somewhat different in function) to the inverse voice construction reported by Tjia (2007) for Mualang and the 'Passive Type Two' construction in Indonesian (see Sneddon *et al.* 2010), both of which show UAV word order.

165It may be noted that analytic undergoer voice shares AVU word order with actor voice. The primary difference is that in analytic undergoer voice it is the Undergoer (not the Actor) argument that is the sentential subject. This change in subject appears to be indicated by the particle *ni*.

the most likely argument to be ellipted in discourse. In the 309-clause discourse sample, all 11 tokens (100%) of argument ellipsis recorded in analytic undergoer voice clauses involved the Undergoer.[166]

(4.54) a.

ku-doi	*téq*	*ikat*	*diq*	*ni*	*koq*	*noput*
NOM-big	this	fish	REL	UV	1SG	AV.get

'the fish that I caught was this big' (ES3.13)

b.

Nila	*diq*	*ni*	*Markus*	*mangkok*
N	REL	UV	M	AV.hit

'it was *Nila* that *Markus* hit' (ES3.210)

The use of analytic undergoer voice often indicates that the Actor is highly involved (i.e. has intentionality and strong agentivity) in the action or event described by the clause, while the Undergoer remains the discourse topic. This can be seen in (4.55) where the Undergoer (an old coconut) is omitted due to its high discourse topicality, while the event itself involves intentional action on the part of the actor.

(4.55)

jéh	*ni*	*koq*	*monoq*	*noq*	*romin*
PRFT	UV	1SG	AV.put	in	house

'I've put (it) in my house' (OB.24)

Analytic undergoer voice is also often associated with perfect aspect in clauses such as (4.55) and (4.56).[167] This association does not appear to be universal, however, since we find non-perfect analytic undergoer voice clauses as well as perfect clauses that are not in analytic undergoer voice. See (§4.2.2.6) below for more.

(4.56)

jéh	*ni*	*muent*	*matéq-éh*	*nakeap*
PRFT	UV	ghost	just.before	AV.catch

'(it) had been caught by the ghosts' (S2.91)

4.2.2.4 Passive Construction

The passive construction in Matéq refers to clauses where the Undergoer argument is the sentential

166See (§4.2.2.1) for more details on the discourse sample used.

167Given this association, it may be possible to analyse the voice system of Matéq in terms of ergativity. See for instance Dixon's (1994:99) discussion of split ergative systems and past tense/perfect aspect. It could be the case, for instance, that Matéq represents a diachronic transitional or split system of ergativity (see Blust 2002:68 and Adelaar 1995 for some thoughts on the cross-linguistic position of Bornean languages).

subject *and* where the Actor argument is not expressed syntactically. This can be contrasted with the other undergoer voices, where the Actor is always present.[168] The passive construction (4.57a-d) is formed with the prefix *ni-*, which attaches to the actor voice form of the verb. The Undergoer argument usually precedes the verb, although it may be omitted as in (4.57c). The usual word order of passive constructions is UV.

(4.57) a.

	U			V
	at	*yoh*	*jéh*	*ni-ngorik*
	that	YOH	PRFT	UV-AV.dry.out

'it's been dried out' (ES2.124)

b.

kosuh	*ni-ngesek*	
dog	UV-AV.chase	

'the dog was chased' (ES3.24)

c.

jéh	*ni-ngopek*
PRFT	UV-AV.cut

'(it) has been cut' (ES5.18)

d.

orut	*at*	*yoh*	*ni-ngisiat*	*noq*	*tobit*	*pit*
boat	that	YOH	UV-AV.tie.up	at	bank	water

'that boat is tied up to the riverbank' (ES3.233)

4.2.2.5 Anticausative Construction

Anticausative constructions in Matéq are formed with (intransitive) anticausative verbs (see §4.1.2) that have one of the prefixes *ti-* (4.58a-c) or *ri-* (4.59a-c). The resulting clauses imply that the subject is in a given state due to a cause, which may itself be optionally expressed as a prepositional phrase headed by *kaneh* (4.59c). Often the event is the result of unintentional action, such as in (4.58b) where the subject accidentally flips over. Anticausative constructions can thus be contrasted with passive constructions, which imply the intentional action of an Actor. This is evident when (4.59c) and (4.60) are compared: in (4.60) the person who opened the door is not overtly specified but the implication is that someone intentionally did so, whereas in (4.59c) the door has been unintentionally opened by an inanimate force (the wind). The word order of anticausative constructions is usually UV, although VU is also attested as in (4.58c).

168At this stage it is not clear what relationship the passive construction has with the other undergoer voices in Matéq. Given the morphological similarities between them (e.g. in the use of *ni-*), it seems highly likely that the passive is derived from, or is a simplified version of, one or both undergoer voices. Further research is needed to explore this.

(4.58) a. *ti-kopek* *odok* *guntik*
ACAUS-cut suffer scissors
'get cut with scissors' (ES5.15)

b. *nyaq=ng* *ti-baliaq*
NYAQ[169]=3 ACAUS-turn.over
'then he flipped over' (MS2.110)

c. *matéq* *ti-nyongkaq* *koq*
soon ACAUS-trip.over 1SG
'I'll trip over' (WC.8)

(4.59) a. *jepet* *koq* *ri-tobuat*
tooth 1SG ACAUS-UV.pull.out
'my tooth came out (on it's own)' (ES3.243)

b. *jéh* *ri-kopek*
PRFT ACAUS-cut
'(it) has been cut' (ES5.17)

c. *nyeget* *ri-tuas* (*kaneh* *bonoq*)
door ACAUS-open because wind
'the door was opened (by the wind)' (ES1.22)

(4.60) *nyeget* *ni-nnùas*
door UV-AV.open
'the door was opened (by someone)' (ES3.25)

4.2.2.6 Discussion of Voice

Having discussed the five constructions involved in the voice system of Matéq, we can now explore a little further the interrelation between these voices, and other aspects of the language. Table (12) summarises the main features of each voice construction that have been introduced so far:

169See introduction to (§6) for more on this use of *nyaq*.

Table (12): Summary of Voice Constructions

	Actor Voice	**Undergoer Voice**	**Analytic Undergoer Voice**	**Passive Construction**	**Anticausative Construction**
Word Order	AVU	VAU, UVA	UAV, AVU	UV	UV
Subject	Actor	Undergoer	Undergoer	Undergoer	Undergoer
Morphology	*N-*, derivations	*ni-*, *ku-*, *pu-*, derivations	*ni* ... (AV)	*ni-*	*ti-*, *ri-*
Associations	progressive aspect, generic or habitual action	imperative, narrative	perfect aspect	non-specified actor	unintentionality

One immediately striking feature of this table is the prevalence of constructions where the Undergoer is the clausal subject. Indeed, the Actor argument is the subject in only one voice: actor voice.

Another feature worth noting is the valency distinction present between the transitive actor voice, undergoer voice and analytic undergoer voice constructions on the one hand, and the intransitive passive and anticausative constructions on the other. Both intransitive voices have clear pragmatic motivations, discussed further below. What is less obvious is the difference between the three transitive voices.

Several observations can be made about these transitive voices on the basis of the 309-clause discourse sample introduced in (§4.2.2.1) above. Firstly, the overall frequency of each transitive voice in the sample data can be compared, as in (4.61).

(4.61)

Voice	N	Overall Frequency
Actor voice	143	46%
Undergoer voice	141	46%
Analytic undergoer voice	25	8%

As can be seen, actor voice and undergoer voice comprise the vast majority of clauses in the sample, while analytic undergoer voice occurs much less frequently. This may suggest that analytic undergoer voice is a marked construction, although further investigation is needed. These data also reveal that actor voice and undergoer voice clauses are essentially equally common in discourse. Although more detailed research would shed more light on the issue, it seems likely that the Matéq voice system can thus be considered typologically 'symmetrical' (in the sense of Ross 2002).

The discourse sample also reveals a preference for Actor arguments to occur as pronouns and, conversely, Undergoer arguments to occur as full noun phrases. This tendency for Actor-

pronouns and Undergoer-NPs is particularly prevalent in undergoer voice, as can been seen by examining the percentages of pronoun-occurrence for Actor and Undergoer arguments in the three transitive voices, presented in (4.62). The preference for Undergoer-NPs may be related to the tendency for new information (which is more likely to be expressed as a full noun phrase than old information) to be introduced as an Undergoer argument.

(4.62)

Voice	Pronoun Actor	Pronoun Undergoer
Actor voice	57%	22%
Undergoer voice	79%	7%
Analytic undergoer voice	56%	14%

When it comes to the question of how a speaker selects a particular voice construction, there are at least three factors that must be considered. One of these is the pragmatic function of each construction.[170] Givón (1994) outlines a framework for conceiving of voice in pragmatic terms. In this approach, voice constructions can be defined on the basis of the 'relative topicality'[171] that is attributed to each of the arguments of the verb through the use of a particular voice, e.g. in actor voice the Actor argument is said to be highly topical, while the Undergoer is less topical. Determining the relative topicality of arguments in this framework requires a thorough text-based investigation, one that is beyond the scope of this description. It is, however, worth noting that pragmatic factors are highly likely to be involved in the selection of voice constructions in Matéq, at least some of the time.

Another factor that may influence the selection of voice is grammatical requirement. This can be seen in some instances of relativisation, where the relativised argument must be the subject of the relative clause (see §3.3.5). Although exceptions to this requirement do exist (namely, with serial verb constructions and resumptive pronouns), it is nevertheless the case that in most contexts the selection of voice for a relative clause is (at least in part) determined by which argument is being relativised. For instance, most relative clauses where the Actor argument is relativised (without a resumptive pronoun) will be in actor voice, since that is the only voice where the Actor is the subject. Likewise, relative clauses where the Undergoer argument is relativised will be in one of the voices where the Undergoer is subject. Given that there is more than one voice where this is the case it is interesting to note that in the discourse sample, undergoer voice dependent clauses

170 In this sense voice can be considered alongside other pragmatically motivated constructions such as topicalisation and dislocation (see §7.5). The primary difference between voice and these constructions in Matéq is that voice is associated with distinct verbal morphology, while the others are not.

171 Givón (1994:8-9) measures relative topicality on the basis of the anaphoric accessibility (number of prior references) and cataphoric persistence (number of subsequent references) of an argument.

(including relative clauses) were rare: only 4.3% of the total number of undergoer voice clauses were dependent. This can be contrasted with analytic undergoer voice, where 28% were dependent, and also actor voice, where 43% were dependent. It seems, then, that actor voice and analytic undergoer voice are the preferred means of expressing Actor and Undergoer relativisation, respectively, while undergoer voice is primarily used in independent clauses.

In addition to constructions where grammatical requirements influence the selection of voice, there are some contexts where tense, aspect and modal factors play a part. As mentioned in the relevant sections above, all three of the transitive voices have associations with TAM: actor voice may express progressive aspect, undergoer voice can be used to form imperatives, and analytic undergoer voice is often associated with perfect aspect.[172] In most of these cases, the selection of a particular voice does not, on its own, provide an unambiguous TAM interpretation; perfect aspect analytic undergoer voice clauses, for instance, still appear with the perfect aspect marker *ijéh* (see §6.4.2). Similarly, adverbials often appear to signal the tense and aspect of a clause, as in the pair of clauses (4.63a-b). (4.63a) is in analytic undergoer voice and is interpreted as a completed past event, while (4.63b) is in undergoer voice and is interpreted as a future event. In both cases, however, the adverbials *matéq* and *matéq-éh* clarify the tense and aspect of the clause, so that the association of analytic undergoer voice and undergoer voice with past and future tense seems to be a matter of preference rather than something that is encoded exclusively in the voice selection.

(4.63) a. *balo rua karék ni koq mpulua matéq-éh*
QUAN seed rubber UV 1SG AV.gather just.before
'I gathered some rubber seeds earlier' (ES3.192)

b. *balo rua karék ni-mpulua koq matéq*
QUAN seed rubber UV-AV.gather 1SG soon
'I'll gather some rubber seeds later' (ES3.191)

4.3 Ditransitive Verbs

Ditransitive verbs appear with three arguments: an Actor, an Undergoer and a third argument which may be a Beneficiary, Recipient, Goal or Source. Ditransitive verbs in Matéq do not show any distinct morphological properties that mark them as different from transitive verbs.[173] Syntactically,

172As noted in (§4.2.2.5), anticausative constructions are also associated with unintentional action (also relevant to modality).

173This can be seen in the fact that ditransitive verbs have the same voice-related morphology as transitive verbs, e.g.

ditransitive clauses differ from transitive ones in that a third argument is expressed as a prepositional complement, in addition to the usual undergoer argument.[174] As can be seen in examples (4.64a-b), the prepositional complement (shown in square brackets) can appear either before (4.64a) or after (4.64b) the Undergoer.[175]

(4.64) a.

ntu	*oma*	*nginyuaq*	[*dek*	*Markus*]	*kotak*	*at*	*yoh*
old	father	AV.give	to	M	box	that	YOH

'an old man gave that box to *Markus*' (ES1.67)

b.

ntu	*oma*	*nginyuaq*	*kotak*	*cah*	[*dek*	*Markus*]
old	father	AV.give	box	there	to	M

'an old man gave that box to *Markus*' (ES1.66)

Ditransitive verbs may appear in any of the transitive voice constructions discussed in (§4.2.2) above. (4.65a) shows a ditransitive clause in analytic undergoer voice, while (4.65b) is in undergoer voice. (4.65c) also exemplifies a (polite) imperative ditransitive clause. Interestingly in all attested examples of ditransitive verbs in these voices at least one argument is ellipted.

(4.65) a.

ci	*yoh*	*ribatu*	*muq*	*aiq*	*yoh,*	*jéh*	*ni*	*koq*
this	YOH	old.coconut	2SG	that	YOH	PRFT	UV	1SG

monoq	*noq*	*payeh*
AV.put	at	drying.rack

'that's that old coconut of yours, I've put it on the drying rack' (OB.28)

b.

tinyuaq=ng	*dek*	*tajuk*
UV.give=3	to	river.lizard

'he gave (it) to the river lizard' (BD.47)

c.

tulok	*nginyuaq*	*téq*	*éh*	*nyaq*	*nadéq*	*at*	*yoh*
UV.help	AV.give	this	EMP	for	child	that	YOH

'please give this to that child' (ES1.125)

Several examples that were attested during elicitation sessions show evidence of the advancement of the third argument of a ditransitive verb into the syntactic position of the Undergoer. In (4.66), for instance, the recipient *nadéq cah yoh* appears directly after the verb in the place where the

N- in actor voice, *t-* in undergoer voice etc. See (§4.2.1).

174There is no 'dative shift' construction in Matéq.

175Another example is: *Nila Markus nginyuaq kado* '*Nila* was given a gift by *Markus*'. This sentence was recorded during an elicitation session and its unusual word order (UAV) may suggest that it is a calque from a similar construction in Indonesian (*Passive Type Two* in Sneddon *et al*.'s (2010) terminology). It is not clear how widespread this construction is.

Undergoer (in this case an ellipted argument corresponding to the gift) would appear.[176] A fourth argument, the beneficiary *okoq*, appears in the prepositional complement position.

(4.66) *tulok nginyuaq nadéq cah yoh dedek okoq*
UV.help AV.give child that YOH for 1SG
'please give (gift) to that child for me' (ES1.126)

176It is possible that this advancement only occurs when the Undergoer is ellipted.

5. Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

Matéq has both basic and compound prepositions. The basic prepositions each consist of a single element and are discussed in the following subsections.

Compound prepositions may be formed by combining one of three basic prepositions (*noq* 'at', *nìk* 'to' or *soq* 'from') with one of the nouns listed in (5.1).[177] The resulting compounds have more specific meanings than the basic prepositions alone, e.g. *noq* 'at' vs. *noq uwah* 'inside'. Examples of compound prepositions (shown inside square brackets) are given in (5.2a-b).[178]

(5.1)
tunuh 'top of'
somù 'above'
sigat 'below'
uwah 'inside of'[179]
atuh 'top of (tree)'
tudoq 'middle/between'
sosah 'side of'
ponìk 'beside'
muo 'front of'

(5.2) a.

barut	*neh*	*kurosah,*	*bis*	*ngeh*	[*noq*	*uwah*]	*ngeh*
UV.roll	3	k.o.mat	sleep	3	at	inside.of	3

'he rolled up a *kurosah* mat and slept inside it' (OT.24)

b.

bu-jalat	[*noq*	*tunuh*]	*iduh*	*diq*	*ijou*
BU-walk	at	top.of	grass	REL	green

'walk on green grass' (R.23)

Prepositional phrases in Matéq consist of a head preposition followed by a complement. The complement may be either a noun phrase (5.3a) or a clause (5.3b), depending on the particular preposition it follows.

177 Compounds are only attested with these three prepositions in the data collected for this study.

178 These constructions could alternatively be analysed as consisting of a simple preposition that takes a possessive noun phrase complement, where the nouns in (5.1) are in a possession relationship with the following noun. E.g. *noq tunuh iduh* 'on the grass' would literally mean 'on the grass's top'.

179 *Uwah* also occurs as an aspectual verb. See (§6.4.2).

(5.3) a. *noq* *sigat* *bota*
at under trunk
'under the log' (G.59)

b. *sampei*[180] *monìk* *amun* *Oya* *Babu*
until come bathing.place mother mouse
'until (she) came to Mother Mouse's bathing place' (OB.61)

5.1 *noq* 'at/in/on'

The preposition *noq* indicates a position at, in or on the location given by the complement, as shown in (5.4a-c). In (5.4d) the complement is a proper noun which, in light of the meaning of the verb *sumaq* 'climb up, enter', is interpreted as referring to the house of *Dayang Kumang* (not just the person).

(5.4) a. *jéh* *ni* *koq* *monoq* *noq* *payeh*
PRFT UV 1SG AV.keep at drying.rack
'I've put it on the drying rack' (OB.28)

b. *baneh=ng* *bis* *noq* *bangku*
husband=3 sleep at chair
'her husband was sleeping in a chair' (BO.2-3)

c. *noq* *tobit* *pit* *téq* *ngenèi*
at bank water this stay
'(he) stayed inside the riverbank' (BD.38)

d. *sumaq* *noq* *Dayang* *Kumang* *matéq-éh*
climb.up at D K just.before
'(he) entered *Dayang Kumang*'s (house)' (MS1.134)

5.2 *nìk* 'to'

The preposition *nìk* implies movement to or towards a destination. It is usually followed by a locational pronoun or noun phrase complement that specifies the destination, as seen in (5.5a-c). In example (5.5d) the prepositional phrase headed by *nìk* introduces the goal of *nubuaq* 'whisper'.

180*Sampei* is a basic preposition, see (§5.6).

(5.5) a. *dioq* *téq* *moriq* *nìk* *romin* *adeapm*
turtle this return.home to house 3SG
'the turtle went back home' (BD.28)

b. *nadéq* *aiq* *yoh* *ngan* *kosuh=ng* *bu-jalat* *nìk* *pada* *torut*
child that YOH with dog=3 BU-walk to wilderness forest
'the boy and his dog walked into the forest' (G.21)

c. *batat* *neh* *nìk* *tonyoq*
UV.throw.away 3 to veranda
'he threw (it) out onto the veranda' (OT.90)

d. *nubuaq* *nìk* *okoq*
UV.whisper to 1SG
'whisper (it) to me!' (ES3.169)

The preposition *nìk* is sometimes omitted when movement towards a goal is implied by the context or some other constituent of a clause. In (5.6a), for instance, the verb *roq* 'want' combined with the locational *kocah* 'there' are sufficient to indicate the subject's intended movement, and the preposition can thus be omitted. (5.6a) can be compared to the functionally equivalent clause in (5.6b), where *nìk* is present.

(5.6) a. *okoq* *roq* *kocah*
1SG want there
'I'm going there'

b. *okoq* *roq* *nìk* *kocah*
1SG want to there
'I'm going there'

5.3 *ku* 'towards/in front of'

The preposition *ku* occurs before nouns and pronouns that refer to locations (5.7a-c).[181] It is also attested before verbs that refer to position, such as *memp* 'lean forward' in (5.7d). *Ku* has at least two functions. The first of these is to indicate direction or movement towards a goal, as seen in (5.7a-c).

181 Examples (5.7a) and (5.7c) show *ku* followed by *somù* and *sosah,* two nouns which are used to form compound prepositions (see above). These examples are not analysed as compounds, however, since *somù* and *sosah* are functioning as the complements of *ku* and there is therefore no further complement required. Cf. the compound preposition *noq tunuh* 'inside' (5.2a) which can be analysed as requiring a complement after the nominal element *tunuh* 'top of'.

(5.7) a. *nyaq ngéh ngadap ku somù*
NYAQ 3 look.up towards above
'then he looked upwards' (OT.57)

b. *kasek koq ku koyiat géq=ng*
UV.chase 1SG towards there also=ADV
'I chased (him) down there too' (GS.30)

c. *kabaq ku sosah*
UV.turn towards side
'turn to the next (page)' (ES3.197)

d. *ku memp*
towards AV.lean.forward
'face down' or 'pointing towards the ground'

Ku can also refer to the relative position of one moving object in front of another moving object. This can be seen in (5.8a), which is part of a story where both the bear and the turtle are walking through the forest together collecting fruit. (5.8b) shows a more figurative use of *ku*, indicating an approaching week. When functioning in this way, clauses with *ku* can be contrasted with those that contain the preposition *noq*, such as (5.9). In the latter case the positional contrast is understood as being between two non-moving objects, and the noun *muo* forms a compound preposition that requires a complement (cf. *ku muo* where *muo* itself is the complement of the basic preposition *ku*).

(5.8) a. *bua téq degeq ku muo*
bear this constantly towards front
'the bear was always in front (of the turtle)' (BD.22)
(i.e. while both of them are walking along)

b. *nyéq mingù atau idu mingù ku muo*
one week or two week towards front
'the next one or two weeks' (PS.50)

(5.9) *romin neh noq muo romin oméq*
house 3 at front house 1PL.EXCL
'his house was in front of ours' (GS.13)

5.4 *soq* 'from'

The preposition *soq* indicates movement or distance from a location, as seen in (5.10a-c). In (5.10b)

it appears with the verb *ngesek* 'chase' to describe a measurement (the speaker is gesturing the length with his hand). *Soq* also appears in comparative clauses, see (§4.1.1).

(5.10) a.

okoq	*monìk*	*soq*	*ampek*	*cah*	*yoh*
1SG	come	from	village	there	YOH

'I come from that village' (ES1.128)

b.

soq	*ci*	*ngesek*	*téq*	*angar=ng*
from	here	AV.chase	this	guess=3

'(it's length was) about from here to here'[182] (MS3.146)

c.

mmàt	*ponas*	*soq*	*romin*
AV.bring	vegetables	from	house

'(we) took some vegetables from the house' (PS.62)

5.5 *nomoq* 'towards'

The preposition *nomoq* appears after verbs that involve movement towards a goal, or action towards a recipient. It introduces the Recipient (5.11a) or Goal (5.11b-c) argument.

(5.11) a.

ni	*koq*	*labi*	*nomoq=ngeh*	*kaléq*	*méq*	*ngarap*
UV	1SG	AV.say	towards=3	very	1PL.EXCL	happy

mant	*monìk*	*omuq*
if	come	2SG

'I said to him, “We'd be so happy if you came”' (ES3.165)

b.

roq	*bu-kesek*	*nomoq*	*rubuq*	*maca*
want	BU-chase	towards	space.beneath	M

'(he) was running towards the *maca* tree' (GS.19)

c.

jéh	*ilang*	*gisah*	*diq*	*at,*	*koq*	*nyingkap*	*nomoq*
PRFT	lost	story	REL	that	1SG	turn	towards

jénéq	*matéq-éh,*	*Bunuo*	*Mawa*
whatchimicallit	just.before	B	M

'that's the end of that story, I'll turn (now) to what's-its-name from before, (the story of) *Bunuo Mawa*' (MS1.62)

182The speaker was estimating an object's length by gesturing with his hand.

5.6 *sampei* 'until'

Sampei refers to action up until a certain time (5.12a) or the occurrence of another event (5.12b-c). It is possibly a borrowing from the Indonesian *sampai*, of the same meaning.

(5.12) a. […] *sampei* *taun* *tujuh* *puluh*[183]
until year seven tens
'… until the 1970's' (AK.7)

b. *pu-medeap=m* *mege* *jeaq* *sampei* *romin* *souh*
PU-live=3 still miserable until house burn
'their lives were still miserable up until the houses burnt down' (AK.7)

c. *samah=ng* *cirito=ng* […] *sampei* *monìk*
same=3 story=3 until come

amun *Oya* *Babu*
bathing.place mother mouse
'the story is the same […] up until (she) came to Mother Mouse's bathing place' (OB.61)

5.7 *dedek* 'to/for'

The preposition *dedek* and its variant *dek* introduce Recipient or Beneficiary arguments, much like *nomoq* (see §5.5 above). In (5.13a-b) the Recipients are proper nouns introduced by *dedek.* In (5.13c), the Recipient appears directly after the verb *nginyuaq* 'give', while *dedek* introduces the Beneficiary of the action.[184] *Dedek* is possibly related to the verb *nodek* (undergoer voice form: *dadek*) which means 'split/share'.

(5.13) a. *ntu* *oma* *nginyuaq* *kotak* *cah* *dek* *Markus*
TOA father AV.give box there to M
'an old man gave that box to Markus' (ES1.66)

b. *Markus* *nginyuaq* *kado* *dedek* *Nila*
M AV.give present to N
'Markus gave a present to Nila' (ES3.214)

183The phrase *tujuh puluh* 'seventy' is a direct borrowing from Indonesian.
184See (§4.3) for more on this use of *nginyuaq*.

c. *tulok* *nginyuaq* *nadéq* *cah* *yoh* *dedek* *okoq*
UV.help AV.give child there YOH for 1SG
'please give to that child for me' (ES1.126)
(not: please give that child to me)

5.8 *ngan* 'with'

The preposition *ngan* 'with' is used to introduce the argument of a verb in some contexts. This can be seen in (5.14a) with the serial verb construction *mikér mpuroyu* 'think about while missing', and in (5.14b-c) with the verb *bu-konsi* 'be friends' and the serial verb construction *ngenèi si-rampuaq* 'live together with', respectively. *Ngan* also functions as a co-ordinating conjunction, see (§3.3) and (§7.7).

(5.14) a. *okoq* *mikér* *mpuroyu* *ngan* *ampek* *koq*
1SG AV.think miss with village 1SG
'I think about (and miss) my village' (ES2.96)

b. *okoq* *kiroq* *koq* *bu-konsi* *ngan* *omuq*
1SG like 1SG BU-friend with 2SG
'I like being friends with you' (ES3.142)

c. *ngenèi* *si-rampuaq* *ngan* *oya*
live SI-share with mother
'live at home with mother' (ES2.77)

5.9 *baka*, *mah*, *(ma)kabat* and *ibarat* 'like'

The prepositions *baka* (5.a-b), *mah*[185] (5.a-b), *(ma)kabat* (5.a-b) and *ibarat* all indicate similarity between two entities. The exact difference between the use of these forms is not clear.[186] One of these prepositions, *ibarat*, was mentioned during elicitation but no examples were attested in the narrative corpus.

(5.15) a. *aiq,* *baka* *téq* *kuat* *dioq*
well like this say turtle
'"Well, it's like this," said the turtle' (BD.61)

185The preposition *mah* may be related to the instransitive verb *samah* 'be the same'.
186*(Ma)kabat* was only attested in the speech of one language consultant, who was an older speaker from the *Bi Uwah Bunuo* dialect group. This form may therefore be a dialectal variant.

b. *ka=ng* *tauq* *cara* *baka* *kiah* *namuh=ng*
NEG=3 know way like which AV.bathe=3
'she didn't know how to bathe them' (OB.68)

(5.16) a. *mah* *oniah* *tobuh* *mai*
like what cane M
"“what is *mai* cane like?”" (MS3.193)

b. *mah* *ci* *nyo* *mongki* *ngeh*
like this person AV.make 3
'it's made like this' (ES5.90)
(lit. like this people make it)

(5.17) a. *romin* *mulo-éh* *ka* *makabat* *téq* *gantua=ng*
house long.long.ago MIR like this UV.hang=3
'the houses long ago were like this, their height' (MS2.68)

b. *montiq* *kabat* *ci* *angar=ng*
be.as.big.as like this guess=ADV
'(they) were as big as this possibly' (MS3.190)

5.10 *koneh* 'through'

The preposition *koneh* (5.18a) and its dialectal variant *kaneh* (5.18b) introduce the cause of an event involving an intransitive verb. The use of *koneh* usually results in the clause being interpreted as transitive. The cause itself may be animate as in (5.18a), or inanimate as in (5.18b). *Koneh* may also introduce an adverbial clause of reason, see (§7.3.3).

(5.18) a. *siq* *gulua* *onaq* *babu* *bis* *koneh* *ngeh*
SIQ desire child mouse sleep by 3
'the mouse pups fell asleep because of her' (DN.73)

b. *nyeget* *ri-tuas* *kaneh* *bonoq*
door ACAUS-open by wind
'the door was opened by the wind' (ES1.22)

6. Clauses

Matéq clauses are discussed in this chapter. After the overview of clause structure presented below, (§6.1) provides a more detailed discussion of predicate nominals. This is followed by (§6.2) which discusses predicate locatives. Possessive predicates are discussed in (§6.3). Tense, aspect and mode are dealt with in (§6.4), before intensifiers (§6.5), adverbs (§6.6) and subject marking (§6.7) are discussed in the following sections. (§6.8) overviews negation in Matéq, and (§6.9) discusses imperatives. Questions are discussed in (§6.10), with further details regarding content questions and content question words in (§6.10.1). Finally, (§6.11) discusses discourse markers.

Clauses in Matéq minimally consist of a subject and a predicate. The predicate may be verbal or non-verbal. Non-verbal predicates include predicate nominals and predicate locatives; these are discussed in the subsections below. Clauses with verbal predicates are either intransitive (6.1a-c) or transitive (6.1a-e). Intransitive clauses may have subject-initial (SV) word order (6.1a) or predicate initial (VS) word order (6.1b-c). In some cases the subject of a predicate-initial intransitive clause appears after the element *nyaq* (6.1c). The function of *nyaq* in these clauses is not clear.[187]

(6.1) a.

S			V				
Dayua Niyo		*téq*	*medeap*	*goni*	*adeapm*	*noq*	*ampek*
D	N	this	live	oneself	3SG	at	village

'Dayua Niyo lived by herself in a village' (OB.2)

b.

V	S				
moriq	*bua*	[…]	*nìk*	*romin*	*adeapm*
return.home	bear		to	house	3SG

'the bear went home... to his house' (BD.28)

c.

V	S
bu-boliaq	*nyaq=ng*
BU-return	NYAQ=3

'he went back' (BD.44)

The word order of transitive clauses is dependant on the grammatical voice of the clause. As discussed in (§4.2.2.1), actor voice clauses (6.2a) have AVU word order, undergoer voice clauses may appear with VAU (6.2b) or UVA (6.2c) word order, and analytic undergoer voice clauses may

187*Nyaq* may add emphasis to the action described by the verb. See also *nyaq* in adverbial clauses in (§7.3). Some language consultants translated *nyaq* in clauses like (6.1c) as a noun 'action' (Indonesian: *tindakan*). If *nyaq* was indeed a noun, then presumably the clause would best be analysed as a copula-like construction: 'going back was his action'. Further research is needed to determine the exact function of *nyaq* in these clauses.

show UAV (6.2d) or AVU (6.2e) word order.

(6.2) a.

	A	V	U
	kosuh	*ngesek*	*okoq*
	dog	AV.chase	1SG

'the dog is chasing me' (ES3.18)

b.

	V	A	U
	tangki=ng	*dibuh*	*idu*
	UV.make=3	torch	two

'she made two torches' (S2.67)

c.

	U		V	A
	bara	*mapua*	*layék=ng*	
	those	float	UV.throw.away=3	

'those that floated she threw away' (MS3.30)

d.

	U			A		V	
	Bunuo	*Mawa*	*ni*	*bi*	*Mobi*	*roq*	*nyora*[188]
	B	M	UV	person	M	want	AV.attack

'the people of *Mobi* wanted to attack *Bunuo Mawa*' (MS1.64)

e.

		A	V	U		
	ni	*nyo*	*mpulua*	*tingkorak*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
	UV	person	AV.gather	skull	this	just.before

'they gathered together the skulls' (MS2.113)

6.1 Predicate Nominals

Clauses with predicate nominals are those that contain a noun phrase which functions as the predicate of the clause (6.3a-c). These clauses are usually interpreted as identificational or copula clauses. In (6.3a), for instance, the subject noun phrase *nadéq at yoh* 'that child/person' is understood as being a member of the set denoted by the noun phrase *guru* 'teacher'. In (6.3b) a similar relationship holds between *nyo ai yoh* 'those people' and *tukak koyuh* 'carpenter'.

As discussed in (§6.4) below, clauses in Matéq may be marked with elements that encode tense-, aspect- and/or mode-related information. In the case of clauses with predicate nominals, where no such marking is present, the clause may be interpreted in a variety of ways depending on the discourse context. The example in (6.3a) for instance could potentially be translated as present,

188The sequence *roq nyora* 'want to attack' is analysed in this study as a serial verb construction. See (§7.1).

past or future tense, as shown by the translations.

(6.3) a. *nadéq at yoh guru*
child that YOH teacher
'that person is a teacher' (ES2.13)
'that person was a teacher'
'that person will be a teacher'

b. *nyo ai yoh tukak koyuh*
person that YOH worker wood
'those people are carpenters' (ES1.14)

c. *umur=nh taruah puruq sowoq*
age=3 three tens year
'he's thirty years old' (ES1.30)
(lit. his age is thirty years)

Predicate nominals may be modified by numerals as in (6.3c) above. Numerals and classifiers themselves may also occur as predicates without a head noun, as shown in (6.4a-b).

(6.4) a. *si-nadéq ni nyo nabat téq idu kunan*
NOM-child UV person AV.carry.away this two CLASS
'the people they carried away were two (i.e. numbered two)' (MS2.117)

b. *kopik néh mpat*
ear 3 four
'it has four ears' (SP.16)
(lit. its ears are four)

To express a change of state involving a predicate nominal, the copula verb *jodi* 'become' must be used, as in (6.5a-b). Predicate nominals, with or without *jodi*, can also be negated with the negative verb *ikai* (6.6a-c). See (§6.8) for more on negation.

(6.5) a. *okoq roq jodi guru*
1SG want become teacher
'I want to be a teacher'

b. *jujua doyoq téq matéq-éh jéh jodi namunsio*
J D this just.before PRFT become human
'the *jujua doyoq* flowers had turned into a human' (OB.50-51)

(6.6) a. *kai* *jodi* *oniah*
NEG become what
'it's nothing' or 'don't worry about it' (ES3.5)
(lit. (it) doesn't become anything)

b. *tubiq* *téq* *ka* *ngéh* *koyuh* *senèap*
rice this NEG 3 thing UV.drink
'this rice is not a drink' (ES3.189)

c. *ka=ng* *Toméngk*
NEG=3 T
'it wasn't *Toméngk*' (MS1.145)

6.2 Predicate Locatives

Predicate locatives (or directionals) are prepositional phrases that function as predicates (6.7a-c). They are often used to indicate the position of a subject in space (6.7a), in which case they are functionally equivalent to existential predicates that contain a locative prepositional phrase, such as (6.7b).[189] Predicate locatives may also indicate movement towards or from a given location, as in (6.7c).

(6.7) a. *bukuq* *at* *yoh* *noq* *tunuh* *mija*
book that YOH at top.of table
'that book is on the table' (ES2.66)

b. *bukuq* *aiq* *yoh* *adeah* *noq* *tunuh* *mija*
book that YOH exist at top.of table
'that book is on the table' (ES2.22)

c. *datnéh* *nìk* *meh* *roq* *nyomuar*
3PL to rice.field want sow
'they went to the rice field to sow' (ES2.88)

Predicate locatives can be negated with the negative verb *ikai* (6.8), like predicate nominals. Unlike predicate nominals, however, predicate locatives may also appear with TAM markers such as *ijéh* in the adverbial clause in (6.9).

189 An alternative way of analysing (6.7b) would be to treat *adeah* as an optional copula verb that appears with predicate locatives that do not involve movement.

(6.8) *nadéq* *at* *yoh* *lahir* *noq* *Kalimantan,*
child that YOH be.born at K

ikai=ng *noq* *Jawo*
NEG=3 at J
'that child was born in Kalimantan, not in Jawa' (ES2.102)

(6.9) *jéh* *noq* *romin,* [...]
PRFT at house
'when (he) got home...' (BD.29)
(lit. already at the house...)

6.3 Possessive Predicates

Possessive predicates in Matéq may be formed with the verb *mpoq* 'own', the relativiser *diq*, the existential verb *odeah*, or a combination of the above. *Mpoq* 'own' (7.1a-d) is an actor voice possessive verb that occurs in clauses where the Actor argument is interpreted as the possessor of the Undergoer.[190] In (7.1c) it appears with the negative verb *nyamp*, and in (7.1d) it forms a serial verb construction with the intransitive verb *sirampuaq* 'to share'.

(7.1) a. *okoq* *mpoq* *idu* *moteh*
1SG AV.own two eye
'I have two eyes' (ES5.1)

b. *omuq* *mpoq=ng*
2SG AV.own=3
'it's yours' (ES5.144)
(lit. you own it)

c. *bayu* *nyamp* *koq* *mpoq* *koyuh* *aiq* *yoh*
still.only not.exist 1SG AV.own thing that YOH
'I've never yet owned one of those things' (ES5.13)

d. *adeah* *meh* *diq* *sirampuaq* *nyo* *mpoq=ng*
exist rice.field REL share person AV.own=3
'there was a rice field that was owned by two people' (ES2.76)

Possessive predicates may also be formed with headless relative clauses that are introduced by the relativiser *diq* (7.2a-c). *Diq* is usually followed by a pronoun that is interpreted as the possessor argument; in (7.2a) this is the 2nd person singular pronoun *omuq*. When the following pronoun

190The verb *mpoq* 'own' may be related to the noun *ompoq* 'owner'.

begins with a vowel, as in (7.2a) and (7.2c), *diq* is reduced to the clitic element *d=* (see §2.5).

(7.2) a. *ci* *yoh* *d=omuq*
this YOH REL=2SG
'this one's yours'

b. *téq* *diq* *datn*
this REL 3PL
'this is theirs' (ES5.149)

c. *kuruat* *neh* *mongki* *torih* *d=adeapm* *téq* *matéq-éh*
patiently 3 AV.make rope REL=3SG this just.before
'patiently he made a rope for his one (i.e. his basket)' (BD.17)

A third way of forming possessive predicates in Matéq is with the existential verb *odeah* (and its dialectal variant *adeah*, see §1.4). In the examples (7.3a-b) *odeah* is used as a transitive verb indicating possession.

(7.3) a. *datn* *adeah* *onaq=ng*
3PL exist child=3
'they had a child' (PS.27)

b. *nyo* *at* *yoh* *odeah* *mobél*
person that YOH exist car
'that person has a car' (ES1.21)

Some possessive predicates are formed with a combination of the strategies discussed above. In (7.4), for instance, possession is marked with the relativiser *diq* (in the form *d=*), as well as the existential verb *adeah*. It is not clear why both forms are used in this example, although the presence of *adeah* may be related to truth-value focus.

(7.4) *d=okoq* *adeah* *bojuh* *koq*
REL=1SG exist shirt 1SG
'I have a shirt' (ES3.147)

The two examples in (7.5a-b) show a question and answer sequence. The question (7.5a) takes the form of a possessive predicate that consists of the relativiser *diq* and the verb *mpoq* 'own'. The answer (7.5b), on the other hand, is formed with only the relativiser *diq*. Again, it is not clear why both *diq* and *mpoq* are used in (7.5a).

(7.5) a. *diq osiah mpoq téq*
REL who AV.own this
'who owns this?' (ES5.189)

b. *diq datn*
REL 3PL
'they do' (ES5.190)
(lit. (it's) theirs)

6.4 Tense, Aspect and Mode

Payne (1997:233) describes tense, aspect and mode (TAM) as 'operations that anchor or ground the information expressed in a clause according to its sequential, temporal, or epistemological orientation'. In Matéq, like in many Austronesian languages, verbs are not inflected for TAM; it is instead expressed with a variety of strategies, including the use of TAM markers, adverbials, discourse markers and inferences from the discourse context.

6.4.1 Tense

Tense can be thought of as the grounding of a clause in time. As mentioned above, tense is not expressed directly on the verb in Matéq, but is most commonly inferred from the discourse context. That is, a clause will be interpreted as occurring in the past, present or future on the basis of the immediate context within a narrative. The tense-interpretation of the clause in (6.10), for instance, is entirely dependent on the discourse context.

(6.10) *okoq kurija noq kobot*
1SG work in garden
'I'm working in the garden'
or 'I worked in the garden'
or 'I will work in the garden' (ES1.20)

In situations where the discourse context is ambiguous or ambivalent with respect to tense, speakers may use an adverbial clause or an adverb such as *ejeq-éh* 'a while ago' (6.11) to clarify the temporal grounding of a clause. See (§6.6) and (§7.3) for more on adverbs and adverbial clauses, respectively.

(6.11) *tebeaq muq kapal ejeq-éh nyosoq*
UV.see 2SG plane while.ago pass
'did you see that plane passing by a while ago?' (ES2.163)

The verb *roq* 'want' can be used to indicate immediate future tense, as in (6.12a-c). When it occurs with a verbal predicate it forms a serial verb construction with the main verb, e.g. *mirih* 'buy' (6.12a) and *nyora* 'attack' (6.12b). Determining the function of *roq* in a clause can be difficult given that it also occurs as a lexical verb meaning 'want'.[191] This difficulty is evident in (6.12c), where the precise interpretation of *roq* is not clear.

(6.12) a. *kudu muq roq mirih ngéh matéq*
how.many 2SG want AV.buy 3 soon
'how many are you going to buy later?' (ES1.54)

b. *Bunuo Mawa ni bi Mobi roq nyora*
B M UV people M want AV.attack
'the people of *Mobi* were going to attack *Bunuo Mawa*' (MS1.63-64)

c. *okoq roq nìk ampek at yoh ngekep*
1SG want to village that YOH tomorrow
'I want to go to that village tomorrow'
or 'I am going to go to that village tomorrow' (ES2.5)

6.4.2 Aspect

Aspect can be thought of as 'describ[ing] the internal temporal shape of events or states' (Payne 1997:238). In Matéq, aspect (like tense) is often inferred from the discourse context. It may also be marked with the use of adverbs (§6.6) or adverbial clauses (§7.3). In other cases aspect is expressed with a TAM marker that appears directly before the verb. One such marker is *ijéh* and its short form *jéh*, which indicate perfect (6.13a) or inchoative (6.13b) aspect. *Ijéh* is also used in adverbial clauses of time (see §7.3.1).

191 Cf. the English immediate future construction with *going to*, which has lost most of its semantic content in the process of being (thoroughly) grammaticalised and arguably no longer implies physical movement when it precedes a verb. When *roq* is used to form future tense clauses in Matéq however, it is not always clear how much of its semantic content, if any, is lost. This is especially difficult when the clause involves an animate Actor whose intentionality is often the very reason for the proposed future occurrence of the event, e.g. (6.12c). For the purposes of this thesis, clauses where *roq* appears to retain a significant level of active intention are treated as serial verb constructions, while *roq* is treated as a grammaticalised future tense marker in clauses that do not contain obvious animate Actors, such as *matéq roq ujat* 'it's going to rain later'.

(6.13) a. *diat* *téq* *éh* *ijéh* *modap*
durian this EMP PRFT rotten
'this durian's already rotten' (ES2.112)

b. *pu-ngonyu* *jéh* *nyora*
PU-AV.headhunt PRFT attack
'the headhunters are attacking!' (MS2.129)

The TAM marker *mege* 'still' indicates imperfective aspect in contexts where there is an expected or possible change of state. In (6.14a) the expected change of state is the growing up of the youngest child, while in (6.14b) it is expected that the *maca* fruit will all eventually be collected. In both cases, the use of *mege* indicates that this expected change of state has not yet occurred.

(6.14) a. *onaq=ng* *diq* *binsu* *téq* *mege* *dicik* *rayo*
child=3 REL youngest this still small very
'their youngest child was still very small' (S2.4)

b. *buoq* *maca* *téq* *mege* *oi*
fruit M this still many
'the *maca* fruit were still many' (GS.33)

Degeq 'constantly' (6.15a-b) and its variant *tegeq* also mark imperfective aspect. Unlike *mege*, which indicates that an action or state has not yet changed, *degeq* implies the constancy of an action or state. In (6.15a), for instance, the mouse pups are continually crying; in (6.15b) the bear is continually walking in front.

(6.15) a. *degeq* *nongis* *onaq* *babu* *téq* *matéq-éh*
constantly cry child mouse this just.before
'the mouse pups kept on crying and crying' (OB.72)

b. *bua* *téq* *degeq* *ku* *muo*
bear this constantly towards front
'the bear was always in front' (BD.20)

Bayu (6.16a-e), also indicates a type of imperfective aspect. More specifically, *bayu* signifies that the subject of the clause is about to be, or is currently engaged in, an action which temporally precedes another anticipated action or event. In (6.16b), for instance, there is an expectation that once the rice has bubbled it will be scooped out and eaten. The use of *bayu* implies that the rice is still only at the stage of bubbling. In (6.16c) *bayu* modifies the verb *roq* 'want'. In this case the interpretation is that the speaker is currently in the state of wanting to eat, and only after he has

satisfied that desire will he engage in the action of the second clause (i.e. going). When *bayu* appears in a negative clause such as (6.16e), it results in the reading 'still not' or 'not yet'.

(6.16) a.

oya	*babu*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*	*bayu*	*oji*
mother	mouse	this	just.before	still.only	go.to.forest

'Mother Mouse was still out in the forest' (OB.31)

b.

bayu	*kurak-kurak*	*tubiq*
still.only	bubble-RED	rice

'the rice was bubbling' (MS1.116)

c.

okoq	*bayu*	*roq*	*man*	*tuet=n,*	*matéq*	*koq*	*koyiat*
1SG	still.only	want	eat	first=ADV	soon	1SG	there

'I want to eat first, then I'll (go) there' (ES5.26)

d.

bayu	*aroq=ng*	*panèi*	*nyidoq*
still.only	beginning=3	clever	speak

'he'd only just begun to speak well' (S2.45)

e.

mege	*bayu*	*nyamp*	*néh*	*ntauq*	*ngeh*
still	still.only	not.exist	3	AV.know	3

'she still didn't realise, she had forgotten about it' (OB.10)

In addition to pre-verbal TAM markers, aspect may be marked in Matéq through the use of aspectual verbs such as *koloq*, *tungkah* and *uwah* (see §4). One of the key features that differentiates aspectual verbs from TAM markers is their ability to take subject marking as in (6.17a), see (§6.7). They also appear after negative verbs (6.17b), which suggests that they form a part of serial verb constructions. This can be contrasted with TAM markers such as *ijéh*, which appear before negative verbs (6.16e).

The aspectual verb *koloq* (6.17a-c) indicates perfect aspect and implies that the subject of the clause has had personal experience of the action or state described by the verb. In (6.17a) *koloq* indicates that the speaker has eaten the object before, while in negative clauses it indicates that the speaker has not had an experience ever before (6.17b) or has not had it for a long time (6.17c).

(6.17) a.

okoq	*koloq*	*koq*	*man*	*neh*
1SG	ever	1SG	eat	3

'I've eaten it before' (ES3.65)

b. *okoq kai koq koloq man babu*
1SG NEG 1SG ever AV.eat mouse
'I've never eaten mouse' (ES5.128)

c. *jéh tuei kai koloq noput omuq*
PRFT long.time NEG ever AV.meet 2SG
'I haven't seen you for ages' (ES5b.33)

Tungkah (6.18a-b) indicates progressive or continuous aspect. In (6.18a) it forms a serial verb construction with the verb *man* 'eat', while in (6.18b) it forms a serial verb construction with the stative intransitive verb *sunyiq* 'be quiet'. The use of *tungkah* with stative intransitive predicates is often associated with a stage-level interpretation (i.e. the state described by the verb is understood as temporary).

(6.18) a. *matéq tuet=n, okoq tungkah koq man*
soon first=ADV 1SG PROG 1SG eat
'just a moment, I'm eating' (ES3.62)

b. *tungkah ampek téq palik=ng sunyiq*
PROG village this most=3 quiet
'the village was very quiet' (OT.26)

Progressive aspect may also be shown by the aspectual verb *uwah* (6.19a-c).[192] In (6.19a) *uwah* appears inside a relative clause and indicates that the people are in the process of eating. In (6.19b) and (6.19c), *uwah* appears clause-initially as part of serial verb constructions with *bu-makat* 'eat together' and *bur-omaq* 'do a ritual'.

(6.19) a. *nyo uwah man*
person PROG eat
'people who were eating' (MS1.85)

b. *uwah nyo bu-makat baka téq*
PROG person BU-eat like this
'people were eating (together) like this' (MS1.86)

c. *jéh uwah datn téq bur-omaq* [...]
PRFT PROG 3PL this BU-ritual
'when they were doing the ritual...' (OT.49)

Aspect may also be indicated in Matéq through the morphological process of reduplication. As

192 *Uwah* also occurs as a noun meaning 'inside of ' which is used in compound prepositions, see (§5).

described in (§4.1.2), some intransitive verbs appear in reduplicated form when they denote repeated action, i.e. iterative aspect. This can be seen with *bedep-bedep* 'blink repeatedly' in (6.20), which can be contrasted with the non-reduplicated form *medep* 'blink'.

(6.20)

bedep-bedep	cf.	*medep*
blink-RED		blink
'blink repeatedly'		'blink'
(e.g. fluttering eyelids)		

Finally, aspect in Matéq may be expressed through the use of adverbs. In (6.21), for instance, the adverb *ajéh-ajéh* 'constantly' is used, along with repeated utterances of the intransitive verb *bu-tengèh* 'argue', to indicate repeated, continuous action. See (§6.6) for more on adverbs.

(6.21)

bu-tengèh	*datn*	*téq*	*matéq-éh,*
BU-argue	3PL	this	just.before

bu-tengèh,	*bu-tengèh*	*ajéh-ajéh*
BU-argue	BU-argue	constantly

'they kept on arguing and arguing' (BD.14)

6.4.3 Mode

Payne (1997:244) defines mode as describing 'the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood'. In Matéq, mode may be expressed through the use of modal verbs, adverbs or discourse markers.

Modal verbs share many syntactic properties with lexical verbs. For instance, they may appear in serial verb constructions and take subject marking (see examples below). When they occur in serial verb constructions, modal verbs tend to appear before lexical verbs, and after negative verbs (e.g. 6.22a). Unlike lexical verbs, however, modal verbs do not inflect for voice (see §4.2.2).

The modal verbs *bioq*, *tauq* and *doput* express the ability of the subject of a clause to do the action or be in the state denoted by the verb. *Bioq* (6.22a-b) refers to the subject's ability in terms of his or her physical, mental or emotional strength.

(6.22) a. *jéh* *ka* *koq* *bioq* *medeap* *noq* *oyiét*
PRFT NEG 1SG be.able live at there
'I couldn't live (i.e. couldn't stand living) there any more' (PS.163)

b. *bioq* *koq* *langkok* *omuq*
be.able 1SG AV.beat 2SG
'I can beat you' (ES3.32)

Tauq and *doput*[193] on the other hand can refer not only to the subject's strength (6.23a) and (6.24a), but also to their ability on the basis of the set of circumstances in a particular situation. This can be seen in (6.23b) and (6.24b) where *tauq* and *doput* both refer to that fact that the speaker has nothing of value with which to repay her visitor, rather than to the speakers own physical, mental or emotional ability to repay.[194]

(6.23) a. *okoq* *tauq* *koq* *ngatuh*
1SG be.able 1SG climb
'I can climb (trees)' (ES5.240)

b. *kai* *koq* *tauq* *ngupah* *omuq*
NEG 1SG be.able AV.repay 2SG
'I cannot repay you' (OB.76)

(6.24) a. *ciuh* *ka=ng* *doput* *mungkuat* *néh*
crab NEG=3 be.able AV.take 3
'the crab wasn't able to take it' (OB.20)

b. *kai* *koq* *doput* *ngupah* *omuq*
NEG 1SG be.able AV.repay 2SG
'I cannot repay you' (OB.38)

A related modal verb, *tegep* 'be strong at', signifies that the subject is 'good at' or 'strong at' doing the action of the verb. In (6.25), for instance, the serial verb construction *tegep mogea* indicates that the subject is physically strong at holding.

(6.25) *okoq* *tegep* *koq* *mogea* *pén* *téq*
1SG strong.at 1SG AV.hold pen this
'I'm strong at holding this pen' (ES5.126)

193*Doput* also occurs as the undergoer voice form of the (non-modal) verb *noput* 'meet, find'. Both verbs may be borrowings from Indonesian *dapat* 'find, be able to' (see Sneddon *et al.* 2010:208).

194Both (6.23b) and (6.24b) come from the same story. This may suggest they are interchangeable in at least some contexts.

The modal verb *roq* 'want' is used to indicate intention. In (6.26a-b) it signifies that the verbal action has not occurred; in (6.26a) the speaker goes on to plan how he might kill the turtle, while in (6.26b) the implication is that the speaker intended to cook the papaya but ended up either not cooking anything or cooking something else instead. The use of *roq* in (6.26c) is slightly different, as it suggests that the speaker did not feel afraid when he might have been expected to, rather than that he did not intend to feel afraid.[195]

(6.26) a.

roq	*kabis=ng*	*dioq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
want	UV.kill=3	turtle	this	just.before

'he wanted to kill the turtle' (BD.34)

b.

buoq	*pisak*	*téq*	*jéh*	*roq*	*ni*	*koq*	*naneaq*
fruit	papaya	this	PRFT	want	UV	1SG	AV.cook

'I was going to cook this papaya' (ES5.239)

c.

nyamp	*owa*	*roq*	*golaq*
not.exist	soul	want	afraid

'I didn't feel afraid' (GS.47)

The modal verb *ona* 'suppose' (6.27) signals that the subject of the clause has made a (usually erroneous) deduction, i.e. he or she does not have first-hand evidence of the validity of the clause.

(6.27)

ona	*koq*	*siq*	*Bajo*
suppose	1SG	SIQ	B

'I thought it must have been *Bajo*' (GS.21)
(i.e. but in fact it was somebody else)

Mode may also be shown through the use of adverbs in Matéq (see §6.6 for more on adverbs). Mode-related adverbs include *angar* 'perhaps' (6.28) and *kiro=ng* 'perhaps' (6.29), which indicate that the speaker is not certain of the validity of the clause (6.28) or is suggesting another possibility (6.29).

(6.28)

soq	*ci*	*ngesek*	*téq*	*angar=ng*
from	here	AV.chase	this	perhaps=ADV

'it was from about here to here, I think' (MS3.147)
(speaker is measuring length with his hands)

195In other contexts *roq* does not appear with *golaq*, e.g. *golaq koq badoq ular* 'I'm afraid of snakes'.

(6.29) *oniah kai diq nasap kiro=ng*
what NEG REL AV.smoke.out supposing=ADV
'why didn't they just smoke them out?' (MS3.170)
(lit. what not the one that was smoked out perhaps?)

The adverbs *tinan* 'truly' (6.30) and *upah=ng* 'in fact' (6.31) are used when the speaker is insisting that something is true, often when this is contrary to the expectations of the addressee.

(6.30) *tinan jéh adeah bi Mobi*
truly PRFT exist person M
'Indeed the people of *Mobi* were already there' (MS1.65)

(6.31) *upah=ng jéh duduk*
in.fact=ADV PRFT complete
'it fact (it) was already at an end' (MS1.58)

Another adverb *pasti* 'surely'[196] (6.32) indicates epistemic probability, i.e. that the speaker considers the event or state described in the clause to be highly likely on the basis of his or her assumptions or knowledge. This can be seen in the example below, where the woman is certain that she will win a cake-baking competition against her husband.

(6.32) *dayua aiq yoh bu-pikér pasti adeapm*
female that YOH BU-think surely 3SG

diq oi jajaq=ng
REL have.many cake=3
'the woman thought it would surely be her that would have the most cakes'
(BO.11)

The adverb *uwaq* 'perhaps' and its short form *waq* are shown in (6.33a-d). *Uwaq* is used to indicate the speaker's uncertainty about the validity of a clause, but usually with an expectation that it is in fact true. In (6.33a), the speaker is implying that the object is probably not going to fall, even though he cannot guarantee it. This is similar to (6.33b), where the speaker is trying to remember where two characters were located at a particular point in a story. The use of *uwaq* indicates that the speaker is not entirely sure that the characters were in the kitchen, but that the kitchen is the most likely place where they would be. (6.33c-d) show a related use of *uwaq* as a question tag. In these examples it includes the addressee in affirming the validity of the clause, again with the expectation that the addressee will agree that the clause is true. *Uwaq* sometimes appears with the adverbial

196*Pasti* is quite likely a borrowed lexeme (cf. Indonesian *pasti* of the same meaning).

element *ngéh*, as in (6.33b) and (6.33d); see (§6.6) for more on adverbial *ngéh*.

(6.33) a. *kai* *waq=ng* *robuq*
NEG perhaps=3 fall
'hopefully it won't fall' (ES5.150)

b. *noq* *padua* *uwaq=ng*
at kitchen perhaps=ADV
'perhaps (they were) in the kitchen' (S2.30)

c. *bur-odéq* *adeap* *waq*
BU-younger.sibling 1PL.INCL perhaps
'we're related, aren't we?' (BD.59)

d. *tauq* *piat* *uwaq=ng*
UV.know sparrow perhaps=ADV
'(you) know the word *piat*, don't you?' (MS1.52)

In addition to modal verbs and adverbs, mode may be expressed in Matéq through the use of discourse markers such as *siq*. See (§6.11).

6.5 Intensifiers

There are four intensifiers attested in Matéq: *poroq*, *rat*, *rayo* and *ebeq=ng*. *Poroq* 'somewhat' (6.34a-b) is a mild intensifier that appears before the predicate. When it occurs with the verb *roq* 'want', as in (6.34b), it results in a construction that can be translated as 'to attempt to'.

(6.34) a. *jéh* *poroq* *ojuq* *kasek=n*
PRFT somewhat far UV.chase=3
'she chased it quite far' (OB.60)

b. *Ntowoq* *Moteh* *at* *poroq* *roq* *ngonyu*
N M that somewhat want headhunt
'*Ntowoq Moteh* attempted to headhunt' (MS3.174)

Rat 'too much' (6.35a-b) is an intensifier that appears in negative clauses.[197] It signifies that the quality described by a stative intransitive verb is not present in the subject to a high degree.

197This may suggest *rat* is a negative polarity item.

(6.35) a. *ka* *ngeh* *rat* *doi*
NEG 3 too.much big
'not very big' (ES2.73)

b. *bayu* *ka=ng* *rat* *tauq* *ngomong*
still.only NEG=3 too.much be.able speak
'He couldn't speak very well yet' (S2.45)

The intensifier *rayo* 'very' (6.36a-c) always appears after the predicate and indicates that the action or state described by that predicate is true to a high degree.

(6.36) a. *mmèn* *rayo* *sekeh=ng*
pleasant very smell=3
'it smells really nice' (ES3.141)

b. *poras* *rayo* *tubuq* *koq*
sweat very body 1SG
'I'm sweating heaps' (ES3.275)

c. *boras* *nyamp* *rayo*
rice not.exist very
'there wasn't (even) any rice' (AK.4)

Another intensifier, *ebeq=ng*, is attested with some intransitive predicates. *Ebeq* itself is a stative intransitive verb meaning 'be stupid', but it may be combined with the adverbial element *ngéh* to form an intensifier, as in (6.37). See (§4.1.1) for more on *ebeq=ng*.

(6.37) […] *saja,* *baék-baék* *ebeq=ng* *kuat* *Dayua* *Puncalo*
EXCLT good-RED stupid=ADV UV.say D P
'"[...] whoa, he was downright handsome," said *Dayua Puncalo*' (MS3.20)

6.6 Adverbs

Verbs in Matéq may be modified by two types of adverbial constructions: lexical adverbs (discussed here) and adverbial clauses (see §7.3). Lexical adverbs, such as *ajéh-ajéh* 'constantly' in (6.38a-b), may appear either before or after the main verb in a clause.

(6.38) a. *tebeaq koq ajéh-ajéh bu-kesek nyaq=ng*
UV.see 1SG constantly-RED BU-run NYAQ=3
'I saw him keep running and running' (GS.26)

b. *bu-tengèh ajéh-ajéh*
BU-quarrel constantly-RED
'(they) quarrelled and quarrelled' (BD.14)

Some lexical adverbs in Matéq may be directly followed by the adverbial element *ngéh* (6.39a-c). This element is phonetically identical to the third person pronoun *ngéh* (see §3.2.1), and it often undergoes the same process of reduction as discussed for the pronoun in (§2.5). Unlike the pronoun, however, the adverbial element *ngéh* does not refer to a participant in the event but instead forms a compound-like construction with its preceding adverb. This difference allows the two forms of *ngéh* in (6.39a-b) to be distinguished: in (6.39a) both instances of *ngéh* are pronouns that take the place of an antecedent in the discourse (in this case, a bear), while in (6.39b) *ngéh* is an adverbial element that does not refer to any participant in the event. The exact function of adverbial *ngéh* is not clear. In some cases it appears to be required as an integral part of the adverb (6.40a), while in other cases the adverb may appear on its own without any apparent change in meaning (6.40b-c). For the purposes of this study, each instance of *ngéh* will be glossed individually according to its function: 3 when a pronoun, ADV when an adverbial element.

(6.39) a. *puruaq=ng noq poja ngeh*
UV.put.in=3 at k.o.basket 3
'he put it into his basket' (BD.23)

b. *dadek deap maih=ng poja téq*
UV.split 1PL.INCL only=ADV k.o.basket this
'let's just split this basket between us' (BD.8)

(6.40) a. *okoq bayu roq man tuet=*(n)*
1SG still.only want eat first=ADV
'I want to eat first' (ES5.26)

b. *okoq géq=ng bu-jalat*
1SG also=ADV BU-walk
'I'll walk too' (ES5.8)

c. *okoq géq man*
1SG also eat
'I'll eat too' (ES3.82)

Lexical adverbs[198] in Matéq include a group of time adverbs which are used to indicate past or future actions or events. These adverbs can be arranged as in Table (13) in a continuum based on their reference to increasingly distant time from the present (as understood in the discourse context).[199] The adverbs in this group that refer to past action are suffixed with the discourse marker *éh*.[200] One of these,[201] *matéq* 'soon', refers to future action when it occurs on its own (6.41a), whereas the suffixed form *matéq-éh* 'just before' refers to past action (6.41b). Present action may be indicated with the adverb *(di)téq* 'now' (6.42). In some contexts adverbs from this group may also function as noun phrase particles (see §3.3.7).

Table (13): Time adverbs in Matéq

mulo-éh long.long.ago	***saiq-éh*** long.ago	***sanéq-éh*** quite.long.ago	***ejeq-éh*** while.ago	***matéq-éh*** just.before	***ditéq*** now	***matéq*** soon	***mongoq*** later.on
e.g. several generations or more ago	e.g. several years ago	e.g. several months ago	e.g. earlier in the day	e.g. a moment ago			e.g. several months in the future

(6.41) a. *osiah nyo matéq-éh*
who person just.before
'who was that person just before?' (ES2.163)

b. *matéq roq ujat*
soon want rain
'it's going to rain later' (ES2.106)

(6.42) *kumoniah téq, kuat neh*
how now say 3
'"what shall we do now?" they said' (OT.78)

Elements that refer to time-related concepts can also be used as time adverbials in Matéq. In (6.43a) *ngekep* 'tomorrow' modifies the predicate locative *nìk ampek at yoh* '(go) to that village', and in (6.43b) *ramiéh* 'yesterday' functions adverbially.[202]

198The adverbs presented in this section are intended to be a limited selection of examples and should not be considered an exhaustive list.

199The comparative distances in time recorded here are based on suggestions by language consultants.

200See (§6.11) for more on discourse markers and *éh*. See also Tjia (2007:80-81) for a similar situation in Mualang.

201It is unclear (on the basis of data collected for this study alone) whether or not the other adverbs in this group may be used for future reference.

202*Ramiéh* may contain the discourse particle *éh*, much like the past-tense adverbs in Table (13) above. Interestingly language consultants also mentioned the variant [ramiaeh], which may indicate that *ramiéh* is a shortened version of **ramia=éh*. Given that neither **rami* nor **ramia* were attested with the meaning 'yesterday' (an intransitive verb *rami* 'be crowded' does occur), it is not possible to confirm this without further research.

(6.43) a. *okoq* *roq* *nìk* *ampek at* *yoh* *ngekep*
1SG want to village that YOH tomorrow
'I want to go to that village tomorrow'
or 'I am going to go to that village tomorrow' (ES2.5)

b. *ramiéh* *koq* *ngkirih* *ular*
yesterday 1SG AV.see snake
'yesterday I saw a snake' (ES1.84)

Other time adverbs include *tuet=néh* 'first', shown in (6.44a-b). The action modified by *tuet=néh* is interpreted as an event that has or should occur before another event. In (6.44b) *tuet=néh* co-occurs with *matéq* in the expression *matéq tuet=néh*, which can be translated as 'just a moment'.

(6.44) a. *usah* *boh* *kodaq* *moriq,* *remen* *tuet=n* *noq* *romin*
don't BOH hurry return.home stay first=ADV at house
'Don't rush home, just stay the night first!' (OB.29)

b. *matéq* *tuet=n,* *okoq* *bayu* *man*
soon first=ADV 1SG still.only eat
'just a moment, I'm still eating' (ES3.62)

Actions or events that occur suddenly or unexpectedly may be introduced with the adverb *taput-ko* 'suddenly'.[203] *Taput-ko* appears at the beginning of the clause, as seen in (6.45a-b). *Taput* may also appear on its own, as shown in (6.45c). The function of the element *ko* is not clear.[204]

(6.45) a. *taput-ko* *maman* *ribatu=ng* *téq*
suddenly float.down coconut=3 this
'suddenly/accidentally her coconut was swept away' (OB.10)

b. *taput-ko* *nyungu* *odéq=ng* *diq* *dicik* *téq* *matéq-éh*
suddenly peek younger.sibling=3 REL small this just.before
'in fact the little child peeked (through the crack in the wall)' (S2.37-38)

c. *owa* *koq* *roq* *mirih* *idu,* *taput* *jéh* *sisaq* *nyéq*
soul 1SG want AV.buy two suddenly PRFT remain one
'I wanted to buy two but there was only one left' (ES1.109)

The adverbs *goq* (6.46a) and *punah=ngeh* (6.46b) mark habitual actions or events. Although both adverbs appear to have similar meanings, *punah=ngeh* may co-occur with *goq*, as in (6.46b). As can be seen in the examples, *goq* usually appears before the verb.

203Some language consultants also offered the translations 'accidentally', 'in fact' and 'then' for *taput ko*.
204*Ko* is similar in form to the question marker *ko(h)*. See (§6.10).

(6.46) a. *goq* *godéq* *bi* *Nongeh* *ngopik=ng,* *cirito* *diq* *aiq* *yoh*
usually afraid person N AV.hear=3 story REL that YOH
'the people of *Nongeh* are usually afraid to hear it, that story' (MS3.165)

b. *oméq* *goq* *maji-maji=ng* *punah=ngeh*
1PL.EXCL usually do.in.morning-RED=3 usually=ADV
'we would usually go out (to look) for them in the early morning' (GS.15-16)

Agéq 'again' (6.47a-b) indicates that a given action or event that has already occurred is repeated once more. It can appear before (6.47b) or after (6.47a) the verb.

(6.47) a. *agéq=ng* *maman*
again=3 float.down
'she followed along the river again' (OB.21)

b. *puruaq=ng* *agéq* *noq* *poja=ng*
put.in=3 again in basket=3
'he put it into his *poja* basket again' (BD.24)

The adverb *nyaq* ' then' (6.48a-b) is used to indicate sequential action. Adverbial *nyaq* may be related to other uses of *nyaq* (see §7.3.4 and the introduction to §6). For the purposes of this thesis, each instance of *nyaq* will be glossed separately, so in (6.48b) for instance, the first *nyaq* is a particle (see Footnote 187), while the second one is an adverb.

(6.48) a. [*nyaq=ng* *jéh* *osik*], *moriq* *jitirinaq=ng* *aiq* *nuruaq*
then=3 PRFT finish return.home 3PL.HON=3 that dibble
'then when it was finished, he and his family went home from dibbling' (MS1.13)

b. […] *sumaq* *romin* *nyaq* *Dayua Niyo* *téq,*
climb.up house NYAQ D N this

nyaq *ngkirih* *roma* *onaq* *babu* [...]
then AV.see many child mouse
'… *Dayua Niyo* entered the house, and saw all the many, many mouse pups...' (OB.26)

Repeated, ongoing or continuous actions and events may be indicated with the adverb *ajéh-ajéh*. *Ajéh-ajéh* may appear after the verb (6.49a) or before it (6.49b&c). The non-reduplicated form *ajéh* is also attested (6.49d) with the same meaning.

(6.49) a. *bu-tengèh* *datn* *téq* *matéq-éh,* [...] *bu-tengèh* *ajéh-ajéh*
BU-argue 3PL this just.before BU-argue constantly-RED
'they kept on arguing and arguing and arguing' (BD.14)

b. *tebeaq* *koq* *ajéh-ajéh* *bu-kesek* *nyaq=ng*
see 1SG constantly-RED BU-chase NYAQ=3
'I looked and saw him keep on running' (GS.26)

c. *ajéh-ajéh* *koq* *man*
constantly-RED 1SG eat
'I constantly eat' (ES3.85)

d. *ajéh* *ngkirih* *ngeh,* *ajéh* *ngkirih* *ngeh*
constantly AV.see 3 constantly AV.see 3
'(he) kept on looking at it and looking at it' (OT.63)

The adverbs *sidah* 'once', *punu* 'twice' and *puntoruah* 'thrice' indicate the number of times that an action or event has taken place.[205] They may appear on their own (6.50a) or together with the adverbial element *ngéh* (6.50b).

(6.50) a. *okoq* *bayu* *sidah* *téq*
1SG still.only once this
'I've never done this before' (ES5b.75)
(lit. I've only done this once (i.e. now))

b. *okoq* *bayu* *sidah=ng* *koq* *mamuh*
1SG still.only once=ADV 1SG[206] bathe
'I've only bathed once' (ES5b.70)

The adverb *goni* 'by oneself' (6.51a-b) indicates that a given participant is the only one involved in an action or event. The participant is specified by an obligatory pronoun following *goni*; in (6.51a) this is *okoq,* while in (6.51b) it is *adeapm.* This pronoun appears to form a syntactic unit with *goni,* and in some cases this unit may itself be followed by the adverbial element *ngéh* (6.51a).

(6.51) a. *tauq* *koq* *nìk* *Sintang* *goni* *okoq=ng*
be.able 1SG to S oneself 1SG=ADV
'how on earth did I go to *Sintang* by myself?!?' (PS.168)

205*Punu* and *puntoruah* may be derived from the numerals *idu* 'two' and *taruah* 'three', presumably with the prefix *pu(N)-*. See (§3.1.1) for other instances of this prefix.

206At this stage it is not clear why subject marking appears before the main verb in this clause. One possibility is that *sidah=ng* is actually a verb which forms a serial verb construction with the following verb. Further research is needed to confirm this.

b. *Dayua Niyo* *téq* *medeap* *goni* *adeapm* *noq* *ampek*
D N this live oneself 3SG at village
'*Dayua Niyo* lived by herself in a village'[207] (PS.168)

Some adverbs may appear in a construction with the particle *saq,* or its variant *soq*[208], as in (6.52a-b). This construction is formed by repeating the adverb after the particle *saq* (see examples below), and indicates that the quality described by the adverb becomes increasingly more intense over time. In (6.52a), for example, the speaker is concerned that over time she will be swept farther and farther down the river, while in (6.52b) the subject is described as walking increasingly faster and faster.

(6.52) a. *okoq* *maman* *ojuq* *soq* *ojuq*
1SG float.down far more far
'I'll be swept farther and farther away' (WC.9)

b. *mudek saq* *mudek=ng* *bu-jalat*
fast more fast=3 BU-walk
'he walks faster and faster' (ES3.4)

6.7 Subject Marking

Subject marking in Matéq is optional and consists of the appearance of a short pronoun directly after a subject-marking verb (see below). This pronoun always refers to the subject of the clause. In (6.53a) it co-occurs with a full pronominal subject, while in (6.53b) it constitutes the sole reference to the subject.

(6.53) a. *okoq* *jéh* *mpuroyu* *koq* *ngan* *omuq*
1SG PRFT miss 1SG with 2SG
'I miss you' (ES3.159)

b. *pasti* *mpuroyu* *koq* *ngan* *datn* *téq*
surely miss 1SG with 3PL this
'of course I will miss them' (ES3.272)

When more than one subject-marking verb is present in a clause, the short pronoun only appears after the first of these verbs. This can be seen in (6.54), where there are three subject-marking verbs:

207The implication here is not that *Dayua Niyo* is the only person living in the village (there are other characters from the village mentioned later in the story), but rather that she has no husband (the finding of which is the subject of the story).

208The particle *saq/soq* may be (historically) morphologically related to the preposition *soq* 'from'.

ikai, *bioq* and *tegep*. The short pronoun *koq* only appears after the first one, *ikai*.

(6.54)

okoq	*kai*	*koq*	*bioq*	*tegep*	*mogea pén*	*téq*
1SG	NEG	1SG	be.able	be.stong	AV.hold pen	this

'I can't hold this pen strongly' (ES5.126)

Subject-marking verbs include some aspectual verbs, the negative verb *ikai*, the intensificational verb *kaléq*, and many psych verbs.[209] The full list of attested subject-marking verbs is given in (6.55).

(6.55) TAM verbs: *tungkah* 'PROG'
koloq 'ever'
bioq 'be able to'
tauq 'be able to'

Negative Verb: *ikai* 'not'

Intensificational Verb: *kaléq* 'be too much'

Psych Verbs: *tegep* 'be strong at'
mpuroyu 'miss, yearn for'
kiroq 'like'
tauq/ni-ntauq 'know (undergoer voice)'
ti-roti 'understand'
kemèt 'forget (undergoer voice)'
rikeneah 'shiver in disgust'
golaq 'be afraid'
maséq 'love, pity'
tagea 'hold/understand (undergoer voice)'
konal 'know a person'
noruh 'be angry'

Several subject-marking psych verbs such as *kemèt* 'forget' and *ni-ntauq* 'know' may take subject marking when they appear in undergoer voice (6.56a), but not in actor voice (6.56b). This pattern

209In the sense of Kearns (2011:212).

can be compared with non-subject-marking verbs such as *monu* 'pick', shown in (6.57a-b). In both actor voice (6.57a) and undergoer voice (6.57b) forms *monu* is not attested with subject marking.[210]

(6.56) a.

okoq	*ni-ntauq*	*koq*	*datn*	*ka=ng*	*roq*	*monìk*
1SG	UV-AV.know	1SG	3PL	NEG=3	want	come

'I know that they are not coming' (ES5.228)

b.

okoq	*ntauq*	*arok*	*términal*	*bis*	*soq*	*polisi*
1SG	AV.know	place	terminal	bus	from	police

'the policeman told me where the bus station is' (ES3.181)
(lit. I know the location of the bus station from the police)

(6.57) a.

datn	*monu*	*ponas*
3PL	AV.pick	vegetables

'they picked vegetables' (G.22)

b.

tanu	*ngeh*	*jujua*	*doyoq*	*diq*	*nsioq-nsioq*
UV.pick	3	J	blood	REL	red-RED

'she picked the *jujua doyoq* (flowers) that were red' (OB.23)

Subject marking can be described as optional, since subject-marking verbs may appear with (6.58a) or without (6.58b) the short pronoun. There do not appear to be any grammatical factors influencing the presence or absence of subject marking and it may in fact be determined by speaker preference. It is worth noting, however, that several of the language consultants were highly aware of subject marking as a distinctive feature of Matéq, all the more so since there is no such construction in the national language, Indonesian. Interestingly, it was usually absent in clauses that were directly elicited from an Indonesian prompt, whereas it was optionally present in comparable clauses recorded through other means. This overt awareness observed in some speakers may indicate that subject marking (as a construction) is marked and may therefore be a candidate for sociolinguistic variation.

(6.58) a.

okoq	*kai*	*koq*	*roq*	*man*
1SG	NEG	1SG	want	eat

'I don't want to eat' (ES3.70)

b.

okoq	*kai*	*roq*	*man*
1SG	NEG	want	eat

'I don't want to eat' (ES3.70)

210The pronoun *ngéh* in (6.57b) refers to the Actor argument, not the subject, and is therefore not analysed here as subject marking. See (§4.2.2.2) for more on word order in undergoer voice clauses.

6.8 Negation

Negation in Matéq is expressed primarily through the use of the negative verbs *ikai* 'not', *ngoq* 'refuse' and *nyamp* 'not exist'. The first of these, *ikai* (often reduced to the short forms *kai* and *ka*), is used to negate entire clauses. It may appear as the sole verb in a predicate (6.59a), or it may form a serial verb construction with other verbs (6.59b-e). In the latter case *ikai* is usually the first verb in the construction (see §7.1 for more). As mentioned in (§6.7) above, *ikai* may take optional subject marking, as seen in the examples below.

(6.59) a.
tubiq	*téq*	*ka*	*ngéh*	*koyuh*	*senèap*
rice	this	NEG	3	thing	UV.drink

'this rice is not a drink' (ES3.189)

b.
okoq	*kai*	*koq*	*pus*
1SG	NEG	1SG	brave

'I'm not brave' (ES5.113)

c.
rugu	*diq*	*mopou*	*ikai=ng*	*tauq*	*ijou*
chameleon	REL	white	NEG=3	be.able	green

'the white chameleon couldn't turn green' (R.27)

d.
okoq	*kai*	*koq*	*kiroq*	*ngkirih*	*nyo*	*bu-doruh*
1SG	NEG	1SG	like	AV.see	person	BU-quarrel

'I don't like seeing people fighting' (ES2.173)

e.
kai	*koq*	*nenteh*	*oniah-oniah*
NEG	1SG	AV.think.about	what-RED

'I didn't think anything (of it)' (GS.38)

The negative existential verb *nyamp* 'not exist' (6.60a-e) can also be used to negate clauses, as well as to indicate negative truth-value focus[211] (6.60a). In some contexts *nyamp* has a more obvious existential function, such as in (6.60b-d) where it indicates the absence, loss or lack of an entity.

(6.60) a.
nyamp	*koq*	*ngkinyam*	*oniah-oniah*
not.exist	1SG	AV.feel	what-RED

'I didn't feel anything' (GS.36)

211 In the sense of Payne (1997:268). In (6.60a), negative truth-value focus becomes apparent when the context is taken into account: in this case the speaker is recounting a time when he thought he saw a ghost but, contrary to expectation, did not feel afraid.

b. *jéh* *nyamp* *nyo* *ngenèi* *noq=ng*
PRFT not.exist person stay at=3
'nobody lived there anymore' (GS.50)

c. *nyaq=ng* *ngkirih* *ribatu=ng* *jéh* *nyamp*
NYAQ=3 AV.see old.coconut=3 PRFT not.exist
'then she saw that her coconut had gone' (OB.11)

d. *simua* *minyaq* *toyeap* *usaq* *nyamp* *aduah*
all AV.wear k.o.tree because not.exist clothes
'everybody wore loincloths because there were no clothes' (AK.8)

Ngoq 'refuse' (6.61a-d) indicates refusal. In some cases this refusal is the intentional action of an animate entity,[212] while in other cases the refusal is attributed to an inanimate object. Syntactically, *ngoq* often forms serial verb constructions with other verbs, as in the examples below (see §7.1).

(6.61) a. *ngoq=ng* *bis*
refuse=3 sleep
'they (i.e. the mouse pups) refused to sleep' (DN.136)

b. *jéh* *ngoq* *sidayua* *ruruq=ng*
PRFT refuse woman flock.around=3
'the girls refused to flock around him' (MS3.25)

c. *ngoq=ng* *nyirik-nyirik*
refuse=3 look.back-RED
'he refused to look back' (GS.23)

d. *bayu* *ngoq=ng* *moteh* *koq* *roq* *bis*
still.only refuse=3 eye 1SG want sleep
'I can't get to sleep' (GS.23)
(lit. my eyes are refusing to want to sleep yet)

6.9 Imperatives

Imperatives in Matéq are primarily indicated by the tone of a speaker's voice. This may take the form of an increased level of stress on the stressed syllable of a verb, often accompanied with a sense of urgency in the speaker's voice. In other cases imperatives may be formed with discourse markers such as *nih* or *boh*, which generally function to strengthen or weaken the illocutionary

212This can be seen when (6.61c) is compared with (6.60b) above. In (6.61c) the referent intentionally refuses to look back after being called, while in (6.60b) the referent is completely unaware that an event has occurred at all.

force of a command (see §6.11 below). The following examples in (6.62a-b) show imperative clauses with intransitive verbs. As can be seen, the verb is unmarked morphologically (i.e. it appears in its usual intransitive form).

(6.62) a. *notou, Nila*
laugh N
'laugh, Nila!' (ES3.262)

b. *bis boh*
sleep BOH
'go to sleep!' (ES5.36)

For transitive verbs (6.63a-e), there is a strong tendency for the undergoer voice form to be used in imperative clauses. This association is quite strong, to the point that speakers will invariably respond with an undergoer voice form when asked for the imperative of a given verb. This may indicate that the selection of undergoer voice in transitive imperative clauses is a grammatical requirement (see §4.2.2.6 for more). Another common feature of imperative clauses is the insertion of the generic pronoun *nyo* 'person' directly after the verb, as in (6.63d). This functions as an indirect reference to the addressee and so softens the command.

(6.63) a. *kurabuq nyéq*
UV.drop one
'throw down one!' (ES1.23)

b. *senèap at yoh*
UV.drink that YOH
'drink that!' (ES3.6)

c. *ni-mpumìs onaq téq éh*
UV-AV.put.to.sleep child this EMP
'put this child to sleep!' (ES2.137)

d. *tanu nyo jujua doyoq diq nsioq-nsioq*
UV.pick person J D REL red-RED
'pick the *jujua doyoq* flowers that are red' (OB.43)

e. *jiji nih nnàt*
UV.see NIH 2PL
'look you guys!' (MS2.25)

Polite imperatives (6.64a-b) are formed with the undergoer voice verb *tulok* 'help' followed by the

generic pronoun *nyo* and an actor voice main verb.[213]

(6.64) a.

tulok	*nyo*	*neteap*	*kuni*	*koq*	*at*	*yoh*	*éh*
UV.help	person	AV.close	bottle	1SG	that	YOH	EMP

'please put the lid on my bottle there' (ES2.126)

b.

matéq	*tulok*	*nyo*	*namuh*	*onaq*	*koq*	*kuat*	*Oya*	*Babu*
soon	UV.help	person	AV.bathe	child	1SG	say	mother	mouse

'"Please bathe my children later," said Mother Mouse' (OB.32)

Negative imperatives, or prohibitives, can be expressed with the particles *usah* and *uga* 'don't', the verb *ieaq* 'stop', or the intransitive verb *boyo* 'be enough'. *Usah* 'don't' (6.65a-b) and *uga* 'don't' (6.66a-b) are placed at the beginning of the clause. Either particle may be used on its own, (6.65a) and (6.66a), or they may co-occur together (6.66b). In (6.66b) the discourse particle *boh* (see §6.11.6) also appears after *usah*. *Uga* can also appear as the short form *ga*, as in (6.66b).

(6.65) a.

usah	*mojap*	*lampu*	*at*	*yoh*
don't	AV.extinguish	light	that	YOH

'don't turn off that light!' (ES1.16)

b.

usah	*boh*	*kodaq*	*moriq*	*kuat*	*Oya*	*Babu*
don't	BOH	hurry	return.home	say	mother	mouse

'"Don't rush home straight away," said Mother Mouse' (OB.29)

(6.66) a.

uga	*mojap*	*lampu*	*at*	*yoh*
don't	AV.extinguish	light	that	YOH

'don't turn off that light!' (ES1.17)

b.

tungù	*noq*	*téq,*	*usah*	*ga*	*kokiah-kokiah*
UV.wait	at	this	don't	don't	where-RED

'wait here and don't go anywhere!' (ES1.88)

The verbs *boyo* 'be enough' (6.67a-b) and *ieaq* 'stop' (6.68a-c) may also form prohibitive clauses. *Boyo* is generally used when speaking out against the continuation of an already commenced action. The implication in (6.67a), for instance, is that the addressee has already been doing 'all-nighters' more than enough times already and should stop. *Ieaq* may also be used in this way (6.68b-c), but in some cases it may indicate a preventative warning, as in (6.68a). In (6.68b) *ieaq* co-occurs with the particle *ga* 'don't'.

213This construction may be adopted from a similar one in Indonesian, which is formed with *tolong* 'help'.

(6.67) a. *boyo* *degeq* *ngomùt*
enough constantly stay.up.all.night
'stop staying up all night all the time!' (ES1.27)

b. *boyo* *mongki,* *omuq* *jéh* *baék*
enough AV.make 2SG PRFT good
'"that's enough making, you're already handsome!"' (MS3.27)

(6.68) a. *ieaq* *nyo* *kemèt* *éh*
stop person UV.forget EMP
'don't forget, will you!' (ES3.194)

b. *ieaq* *ga* *nyaruah* *kuat* *Dayang* *Kumang*
stop don't strange say D K
'"stop being so surprised" said *Dayang Kumang*' (MS1.151)

c. *ieaq* *rosoh,* *laq=ng* *odok* *tuoq=ng* *Dadah*
stop carelessly maybe=3 get parents.younger.sibling=3 D
'"stop being careless, 'uncle' *Dadah* might get hit!"' (MS3.161)

6.10 Questions

Questions in Matéq can be divided into two types: yes/no questions and content questions. Yes/no questions can be formed from a declarative clause simply by a change in intonation. (6.69a-b) show almost identical clauses in declarative and question forms. As can be seen, both predicates have the same word order. The clause in (6.69b), however, is pronounced with a high rising terminal contour, indicating that the clause should be interpreted as a question. This intonation is usually present in all questions, so that even when interrogative mood is clearly indicated by other means such as content question words (see §6.10.1 below), the rising terminal contour remains.

(6.69) a. *nadéq* *at* *yoh* *jéh* *adeah* *odéq=ng*
child that YOH PRFT exist younger.sibling=3
'he's got a younger sibling' (ES3.155)
(lit. that child, there's already his younger sibling)

b. *jéh* *adeah* *odéq=ng*
PRFT exist younger.sibling=3
'does he have a younger sibling?' (ES3.152)
(lit. does his younger sibling exist?)

Yes/no questions also have a strong tendency to be predicate initial, as shown in (6.70a-c). With non-verbal predicates (6.70a) and intransitive verbs (6.70b), initial predicates are achieved through subject-predicate inversion. With transitive clauses (6.70c), they are achieved through the use of predicate-initial undergoer voice.

(6.70) a. *koih* *omuq*
there 2SG
'are you going over there?' (ES5.135)

b. *man* *okoq* *uwaq=ng*
eat 1SG perhaps=ADV
'can I eat?' (ES3.81)

c. *tebeaq* *muq* *kapal* *ejeq-éh* *nyosoq*
UV.see 2SG ship while.ago pass
'did you see that aeroplane passing by a while ago?' (ES2.163)

Yes/no questions may also be signalled with the question particle *koh* and its variant *ko*, shown in (6.71a-b). This question marker is usually inserted after the predicate (particularly when it is clause-initial). Question marker *ko(h)* is not to be confused with the homophonous conjunction *koh* 'or', see (§3.3).

(6.71) a. *sibereaq* *koh* *omuq*
be.hungry QUES 2SG
'are you hungry?' (ES5.61)

b. *kokiah* *koh* *ompoq romin* *téq*
where QUES owner house this
'where's the owner of this house?' (ES5b.105)

Polite requests, including requests for permission, can be formed with the verb *tauq* 'be able to' (6.72a-b). *Tauq* appears at the beginning of the clause, followed by the subject. The same construction can also be used to express disbelief or doubt in the form of rhetorical questions, as in (6.73a-b).

(6.72) a. *tauq* *koq* *man* *buoq* *koyuh* *téq*
be.able 1SG AV.eat fruit wood this
'can I eat this fruit?' (ES5.252)

b. *tauq muq mirih sikat nyaq okoq*
be.able 2SG AV.buy brush for 1SG
'could you buy a brush for me?' (ES1.73)

(6.73) a. *tauq koq ngemèt odat=n*
be.able 1SG AV.forget name=3
'how could I forget his name?' (MS1.146)

b. *tauq koq géq=ng nìk Sintang goni okoq=ng*
be.able 1SG also=ADV to S onself 1SG=ADV
'how on earth did I go to *Sintang* by myself?' (PS.168)

The examples above are instances of affirmative questions. Negative questions are also attested in Matéq, such as those in (6.74a-d). The use of a negative question usually implies that the speaker is surprised about the situation and would have expected it to be different. The question in (6.74a), for instance, would occur in a context where the speaker wishes to express surprise or disbelief that the addressee is not brave, in contrast to the speaker's previous assumptions. The content question word *oniah* 'what' may appear clause-initially in negative questions (6.74b-c), in which case it seems to have the meaning 'why' (see §6.10.1.1 below). In some negative questions the negative verb *ikai* does not negate the entire clause, but is instead used by a speaker to ask whether or not something is the case (6.74d). When this occurs, *ikai* appears directly after the first verb of the clause; this can be contrasted to its position before the first verb in declarative clauses (see §6.8).

(6.74) a. *ka muq pus*
NEG 2SG brave
'aren't you brave?' (ES5.109)

b. *oniah kai bis*
what NEG sleep
'why aren't you sleeping?' (ES5.38)

c. *oniah kai diq nasap kiro=ng*
what NEG REL UV.smoke suppose=ADV
'why didn't they just smoke (them) out?' (MS3.170)

d. *buoq koyuh téq tauq kai man neh*
fruit wood this be.able NEG AV.eat 3
'can this fruit be eaten or not?' (ES5.254)
(lit. this fruit, be able or not to eat it?)

6.10.1 Content Questions

Content questions in Matéq are formed with content questions words. These may appear in clause-initial position or *in situ*. The content question words attested in the data collected for this study are listed in the following subsections, along with examples.

6.10.1.1 *oniah* 'what'

Oniah 'what' (6.75a-d) is used to question an unknown element of a clause. In some contexts *oniah* can be translated 'why', as in examples (6.74b-c) in the introduction to (§6.9) above. It is not clear why this should be the case, although the morphosyntactic similarities between *oniah* 'what' and *noniah* 'do what' may be a relevant factor (see §6.10.1.7).

(6.75) a. *at* *oniah*
that what
'what's that?' (ES5.261)

b. *oniah* *poyo* *muq*
what action 2SG
'what are you doing?' (ES6.5)
(lit. what is your action?)

c. *oniah* *ku* *tangki* *muq*
what thing UV.make 2SG
'what are you doing?' (ES3.268)
(lit. what is the thing you are making?)

d. *oniah* *koyuh* *ni=ng* *nabat* *meber* *mmàt*
what thing UV=3 AV.carry.away fly AV.bring
'what is that thing it's carrying?' (MS1.53)

6.10.1.2 *osiah* 'who'

Osiah 'who' (6.76a-c) is used to enquire about the identity of a human participant in an action or event. In (6.76a) and (6.76c) it appears *in situ*, while in (6.76b) *osiah* is in clause-initial position (possibly due to clefting). When *osiah* is used in possessive predicates, it may appear on its own (6.77a) or in a headless relative clause introduced by the relativiser *diq* (6.77b); see (§6.3) for more

on possessive predicates.

(6.76) a. *at* *osiah*
that who
'who's that?' (ES5.262)

b. *osiah* *koh* *diq* *ngompit* *akar=ng*
who KOH REL AV.drag.along rattan=3
'who was it that dragged along the rattan?' (MS1.146)

c. *roq* *nginyuaq* *pit* *nìk* *osiah* *omuq*
want AV.give water to who 2SG
'who are you going to give water to?' (ES3.40)

(6.77) a. *diq* *téq* *osiah* *mpoq=ng*
REL this who AV.own=3
'who owns this?' (ES5.188)

b. *diq* *osiah* *mpoq* *téq*
REL who AV.own this
'who owns this?' (ES5.189)

6.10.1.3 *nnàtneh* 'when'

The content question word *nnàtneh* 'when' (6.78) is morphologically puzzling, as it appears to consist of a combination of the 2nd person plural pronoun *nnàt* and the adverbial element *ngèh* (see §6.6). The resulting question word, however, does not have the qualities of a personal pronoun and it is not clear why a personal pronoun should be involved in forming a temporal question word[214].

(6.78) *nnàtn* *muq* *monìk*
when 2SG come
'when did you arrive?' (ES5b.66)

6.10.1.4 *kiah* 'which' or 'where'

Kiah 'which' can be used to question which out of several options is the intended referent of a clause, as in (6.79a-b).

214Of course, one possibility is that this resemblance is due to the presence of semantically distinct homophonous morphemes in the Matéq lexicon. However, *nnàt* is only attested as a pronoun in the data collected for this study.

(6.79) a. *kiah* *jorat* *diq* *odok* *nìk* […]
which road REL correct to
'which is the right road to...' (ES1.44)

b. *bi* *kiah* *nadéq* *cah*
person which child there
'where does that child come from?' (ES5b.43)
(lit. which person (i.e. people group) is that child)

When *kiah* appears inside a prepositional phrase, as in (6.80a-b), it is interpreted as a locational question word 'where' (prepositional phrases are shown inside square brackets below).

(6.80) a. [*soq* *kiah*] *ponìk* *nnàt*
from which place.of.origin 2PL
'where do you come from?' (ES1.40)

b. *susut* *datn* *cah* [*noq* *kiah*] *tokoh*
UV.ask 3PL there at which shop
'ask them where the shop is!' (ES5b.47)

In careful speech, language consultants often pronounced this locational *kiah* with an initial vowel /o/, as in (6.81). On the basis of data collected for this study it is not possible to determine if this vowel is part of the underlying stem of the word *kiah* or perhaps an epenthetic vowel. The vowel /o/ also appears in the form *kokiah* 'where' (6.82a), which may be used in place of a prepositional phrase in some contexts, as can be seen by comparing (6.82a) and (6.82b).

(6.81) [*noq* *okiah*]
at which
'where?'

(6.82) a. *roq* *kokiah* *omuq*
want which 2SG
'where are you going?' (ES1.41)

b. *roq* [*nìk* *kiah*] *omuq*
want to which 2SG
'where are you going?' (ES1.41)

6.10.1.5 *baka-oniah*, *baka-kiah*, *mah-oniah*, (*ku)moniah* 'how'

There are at least four ways of enquiring about the manner of an action or event in Matéq. The four content question words listed here appear to be compound words, consisting of one the base question words *oniah* 'what' or *kiah* 'which', plus one of the prepositions *baka* 'like', *mah* 'like' or the prefix *ku-*. Some comments on the specific use of each form are given below.

Baka-oniah 'how' is shown in (6.83a-b). In both of these examples it is used when the speaker has no previous knowledge about the discourse topic, e.g. in (6.83a) the speaker was previously unaware that he was related to the addressee in any way.

(6.83) a.

aiq	*baka-oniah=ng*	*tauq*	*bur-odéq*	*adeap*
well	like-what=3	be.able	BU-younger.sibling	1PL.INCL

'just how is it that are we siblings?' (BD.54)

b.

baka-oniah	*nnàt*	*labi*	*ngéh*
like-what	2PL	say	3

'how do you say that?' (ES1.49)

Baka-kiah 'how' is used in (6.84) with the implication that the subject does not know which, out of several possible methods, is the correct one to bathe mouse pups. This is consistent with the meaning of *kiah* 'which'.

(6.84)

ka=ng	*tauq*	*cara*	*baka-kiah*	*namuh=ng*
NEG=3	know	way	like-which	AV.bathe=3

'she didn't know how to bathe them (i.e. the mouse pups)' (OB.68)

Mah-oniah 'how' (6.85a-b) is used to enquire about the quality of an entity or concept.

(6.85) a.

mah-oniah	*tobuh*	*mai*
like-what	cane	M

'what is *mai* cane like?' (MS3.193)

b.

pu-ntebeaq	*omuq*	*noq*	*ocah*	*mah-oniah*
PU-AV.see	2SG	at	there	like-what

'what's your view of that place like?' (ES4.15)

Kumoniah 'how' (6.86a-b) and *moniah* 'how' (6.87) are also used to question the manner of an event or action. Both forms appears to be related to the question word *oniah* 'what', possibly through derivation with the intransitive verb prefix *m-* (see §4.1.2) plus, in the case of *kumoniah*, the

nominalising prefix *ku-* (see §3.1.1). The data collected for this study do not reveal any obvious differences in function between *kumoniah* and *moniah*; they may in fact be (dialectal) variants of the same form.

(6.86) a. *kumoniah* *roq* *ngkomìs=ng*
how want AV.kill=3
'how could they kill him?' (MS2.31)

b. *susut* *neh* *Dayua* *Niyo* *aiq* *yoh* *kumoniah* *neh*
UV.ask 3 D N that YOH how 3

noput *baneh* *ngeh*
AV.meet husband 3
'she asked *Dayua Niyo* how she had got her husband' (OB.56)

(6.87) *moniah* *maih=ng* *muruh* *ku* *téq*
how only=ADV AV.plant thing this
'just how do you plant this thing?' (MS1.56)

6.10.1.6 *kudu* 'how many'

Kudu 'how many' (6.88a-c) is used to enquire about the number of a given entity. In (6.88a) it appears as part of the noun phrase *kudu kunan nyo* 'how many people'. *Kudu* may also be used as an argument of a verbal predicate (6.88b) or predicate nominal (6.88c).

(6.88) a. *adeah* *kudu* *kunan* *nyo* *noq* *téq* *éh*
exist how.many CLASS person at this EMP
'how many people are there here?' (ES2.54)

b. *kudu* *muq* *roq* *mirih* *ngéh* *matéq*
how.many 2SG want AV.buy 3 soon
'how many will you buy later?' (ES1.54)

c. *kudu* *rogo* *ngeh*
how.many price 3
'how much does it cost?' (ES2.36)
(lit. how much is its price?)

6.10.1.7 *noniah* 'do what'

Noniah 'do what' (6.89a-b) is a content question word that can be used to enquire about someone's action or activity.[215] When *noniah* is combined with the particle *nyaq* (6.89c-d) the resulting combination is used to enquire about the reason or purpose of an event or action. See the introduction to (§6) for more on particle *nyaq*.

(6.89) a. *noniah* *oya* *muq* *ngaq*
do.what mother 2SG TOA
'what's going on with your mother, dear?' (S2.61)
or 'what's your mother doing, dear?'

b. *aiq,* *noniah* *kotéq*
well do.what here
'well, why are (you) here?' (MS1.153)
or 'what are (you) doing here?'

c. *noniah* *nyaq=ng*
do.what NYAQ=3
'why are they (doing that)?' (ES5.97)

d. *noniah* *nyaq* *muq* *mangkok* *okoq*
do.what NYAQ 2SG AV.hit 1SG
'why did you hit me?' (ES1.56)

6.11 Discourse Markers

Discourse markers in Matéq mostly consist of short, monosyllabic words. They function in a variety of ways, usually indicating the speaker's attitude towards either the addressee or the content of the utterance.

6.11.1 *éh*

The discourse marker *éh* (6.90a) is used as a question tag. In a similar way to *uwaq*, it functions to confirm the addressee's validation of the clause. *Éh* also appears as an exclamative (6.90b), where it expresses surprise. Some uses of *éh* are lexicalised, such as the examples in (6.90c-d). In (6.90c) it

215The form *noniah* may have been formed by prefixing the homorganic nasal prefix *N-* (see §4.2.1) to the content question word *oniah*.

appears as a suffixed element on the adverb *matéq* 'just before' (see §6.6), while in (6.90d) it appears as an emphatic particle connected with the demonstrative *téq* 'this'. This latter use is attested only in the speech of one language consultant, and may be a dialectal feature associated with the speech of the *Bi Sigat* group (see §1.4).

(6.90) a.
mintoq	*nyéq,*	*éh*
AV.request	one	QUES

'can (I) have one, yeah?' (ES1.55)

b.
éh,	*oniah*	*koyuh*	*ni=ng*	*nabat*	*meber*	*mmàt*
EXCLT	what	thing	UV=3	AV.carry.away	fly	AV.bring

'Huh, what's that thing it's carrying?' (MS1.53)

c.
dioq	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
turtle	this	just.before

'the turtle' (BD.66)

d.
diat	*téq*	*éh*	*ijéh*	*modap*
durian	this	EMP	PRFT	rotten

'this durian's already rotten' (ES2.112)

6.11.2 *siq*

The discourse marker *siq* appears to have a variety of uses,[216] one of which is to mark inferential evidentiality (in the sense of Payne 1997:253). This can be seen in (6.91a), where *siq* precedes a part of the clause that turns out to be the subject's own erroneous assumption, rather than something he has actually seen first-hand. This also seems to be the case in (6.91b), where *siq* marks the embedded clause as information that has been gained from *Lukas*, rather than the speaker's own knowledge.[217]

(6.91) a.
ona=ng	*siq*	*jéh*	*kobis*	*dioq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh,*
guess=3	SIQ	PRFT	dead	turtle	this	just.before

padahal	*ni*	*datn*	*lakar*	*agéq*
whereas	UV	3PL	AV.deceive	again

'he thought that the turtle was dead, but in fact they had tricked him again' (BD.66)

216Several language consultants suggested that *siq* is similar to the Indonesian particle *pun*, which is true for at least some of its functions. See Sneddon *et al.* (2010:237-239) for more on *pun.*

217Given its distribution in (6.91a-b), *siq* could also be analysed as a complementiser. However, this does not appear to be the case in (6.92a-c). Further research would be needed to determine the exact function of *siq* in all its contexts.

b. *Lukas labi ngéh*[218] *siq ijéh Markus man*
L say 3 SIQ PRFT M eat
'*Lukas* said that *Markus* has eaten' (ES2.147)

Another use of *siq* is adverbial, implying that an entity is included in a previously mentioned group. It can thus be translated 'also', as in (6.92a). In apparent contradistinction to this usage, (6.92b) shows *siq* functioning to exclude an entity from a previously mentioned group, in this case the addressee(s). (6.92c) shows another attested use of *siq*, this time indicating that even if a clause holds true a particular action will nevertheless be done.

(6.92) a. *okoq siq man neh*
1SG SIQ eat 3
'I also ate it' (ES3.79)

b. *okoq siq bu-jalat*
1SG SIQ BU-walk
'I'll walk (but you take the motorbike)' (ES5.6)

c. *maq onù roq ujat siq timonoq*[219]
if day want rain SIQ go.down
'even if it's raining (we'll) go out' (ES5.160)
or 'if it's raining (we'll) nevertheless go out'

6.11.3 *ka*

Ka is another discourse marker in Matéq.[220] In certain contexts it marks a clause as mirative, i.e. as unexpected or surprising. In all the attested examples of *ka*, the surprised speech participant is the addressee.[221] This can be seen in (6.93a), where *ka* indicates the speaker's assumption that the addressee did not expect the child to have a younger sibling (perhaps because the child is so young). (6.93a) can be contrasted with (6.93b), where *ka* is not present and there is no mirative reading. (6.93c-d) also show examples of mirative *ka.*

218*Ngéh* here refers to the content of the indirect quote. See (§7.4.1) for more on indirect quotes.
219The meaning of *timonoq* is actually 'go down' but it is often used in the sense of 'go out of the house', since traditionally Dayak houses are built on raised stilts and must be exited by a notched-log ladder.
220*Ka* also occurs as a short form of the negative verb *kai* (see §6.8).
221On this count *ka* can be contrasted with *géq* (see §6.11.4), which is attested as marking a clause as surprising to either the addressee, or the speaker, or both.

(6.93) a. *nadéq at yoh ka jéh odeah odéq=ng*
child that YOH MIR PRFT exist younger.sibling=3
'that child (surprisingly) already has a younger sibling' (ES3.154)

b. *nadéq at yoh jéh odeah odéq=ng*
child that YOH PRFT exist younger.sibling=3
'that child already has a younger sibling' (ES3.155)

c. *adeapm ka ku-labi nyo baék*
3SG MIR UV-AV.say person good
'people say he's good (contrary to your expectation)' (ES3.203)

d. *mulo-éh ka nyamp aduah*
long.long.ago MIR not.exist clothing
'there was no clothing in those days, you see' (MS3.142)

6.11.4 *géq*

Géq, like *ka* above, may function as a marker of mirativity. Unlike *ka*, however, *géq* is ambiguous as to whether the speaker and/or the addressee is surprised at some or all of the content of the clause. This can be seen in (6.94a), where *géq* expresses the speaker's surprise that something is actually the case when he had expected otherwise (see Appendix 3, Text 1 for the full context). *Géq* in (6.94b) on the other hand, gives the impression that the speaker is filling in the addressee on a fact of which he or she was probably previously unaware. The discourse marker *géq* must not be confused with the homophonous short variant of the adverb *agéq* 'again', shown in (6.95).

(6.94) a. *omant=n géq, kuat tajuk*
true=3 MIR say river.lizard
'"It really is true!" said the river lizard' (BD.59)

b. *bua téq panèi géq akal ngeh*
bear this clever MIR mind 3
'the bear, you see, was cunning' (BD.40)

(6.95) *at géq*
that again
'that also' (MS3.175)

6.11.5 *na*

The discourse marker *na* (6.96a-c) expresses the speaker's disbelief that a particular situation is the case. *Na* usually appears at the start of an utterance.

(6.96) a. *na moniah koh botuh aiq yoh mah baq kutuet*
NA how QUES stone that YOH like head kneecap?
'how could it be that that rock's like a knee?' (MS3.86)

b. *na oi koh*
NA be.many QUES
'is that all you got?' (SP.101)

c. *na noq kiah koh*
NA at where QUES
'now just where could it be?' (SP.100)

6.11.6 *boh*

The discourse marker *boh* has three functions. In clauses such as (6.97a-b), it is an exhortative that can be roughly translated as 'come on'. In (6.97c), it is used to emphasise an imperative, while in (6.97d-e) it is used to give strong emphasis to the truth-value of the clause.

(6.97) a. *boh deap ajal*
BOH 1PL.INCL play
'come on, let's play!' (ES1.132)

b. *boh adeap runtiq sopoq kois*
BOH 1PL.INCL do.lots slice.of.meat wild.pig
'come on, let's eat lots of slices of wild pork!' (ES3.34)

c. *nogat boh nadéq aiq yoh*
UV.call.out.to BOH child that YOH
'call that child!' (ES3.179)

d. *ah, pus boh omuq*
AH brave BOH 2SG
'don't be silly, you are brave!' (ES5.115)

e. *kudiq* *mangah* *boh* *mulo-éh*
since awful BOH long.long.ago
'because it was awful way back then' (MS1.40)

6.11.7 *nih*

The discourse marker *nih* is used with imperatives. It is often used on its own after a command has been given or a request has been made, as a way of repeating the request. It may also appear in full clauses, such as (6.98a-b), where it adds emphasis in a similar way to *boh* above. Additionally, it can be considered as serving to clarify that the clause is in imperative mood.

(6.98) a. *jiji* *nih* *nnàt*
UV.see NIH 2PL
'look you guys!' (MS2.25)

b. *nih* *nìk* *romin* *Dayua* *Puncalo*
NIH to house D P
'off (you go) to *Dayua Puncalo*'s house!' (MS3.18)

6.11.8 *aiq*

The discourse marker *aiq* (6.99a-b) is used as a filler, usually at the beginning of an utterance. It is roughly translatable as 'hey', 'well', or 'well then'.

(6.99) a. *aiq,* *kapik* *nyo* *kuat=n*
well UV.listen person UV.say=3
'"Just listen," he said' (BD.55)

b. *aiq,* *noniah* *muq* *kotéq*
well AV.do.what 2SG here
'hey! what are you doing here?' (DN.18)

6.11.9 *ngah, ah*

Ngah and its variant *ah* express the speaker's strong refusal or disagreement. It is often followed by a clause explaining the reason for the refusal. In (6.100a), for instance, the speaker is responding to

a group of animals who have asked if he intends to eat them. The response contains *ah*, indicating that the speaker has no intention whatsoever to eat them. The clause immediately following *ah* then clarifies that this is the case because, in this instance, he's looking for an animal to eat that doesn't have any bones. In (6.100c), the speaker is refusing an offer to play outside because he has just bathed.

(6.100)a. *ah, nnàt oi tura=ng*
AH 2PL be.many bone=3
'oh not you, you have lots of bones' (T.15)

b. *ah, ngoq koq*
AH refuse 1SG
'I don't want to!' (ES5.86)

c. *ah, okoq jéh bu-roséh*
AH 1SG PRFT BU-clean
'I can't, I'm already clean' (ES3.133)

6.11.10 *tah*

Tah is a discourse marker which is used to cast doubt on the certainty of a clause. Depending on the context, it can be translated as 'not know' (6.101a) or 'whether or not' (6.101b).[222] In (6.101a) the speaker is wondering about the details of a story he is telling, and uses *tah* to indicate that he is unsure of those details. *Tah* is possibly an adoption from Indonesian *entah*, of identical meaning and similar use (see Sneddon *et al.* 2010).

(6.101)a. *datn idu kunan matéq-éh tah kokiah ko,*
3PL two CLASS just.before TAH where QUES

noq padua uwaq=ng
at kitchen perhaps=ADV
'the two of them were where I wonder, perhaps in the kitchen?' (S2.29)

b. *tah omant tah kai koh*
TAH true TAH NEG QUES
'I don't know if it's true or not' (ES1.87)

222The interpretation 'whether or not' is more likely when *tah* is repeated, as in (6.101b).

7. Complex Clauses

This chapter discusses complex clauses in Matéq. (§7.1) deals with serial verb constructions and their properties. Complement clauses are presented in (§7.2), followed by adverbial clauses in (§7.3). Further discussions of the various types of adverbial clauses are given in (§7.3.1) for time adverbials, (§7.3.2) for location adverbials, (§7.3.3) for adverbials of reason, (§7.3.4) for purpose adverbials, and (§7.3.5) for adverbials of condition. Quotative clauses are then discussed in (§7.4). Focus and topicalisation are explored in (§7.5), followed by a discussion of coordination in (§7.6).

7.1 Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are constructions that consist of two or more verbs in a single clause, which 'express various facets of one complex event' (Payne 1997:307). SVCs in Matéq can be continuous (7.6a) where the verbs appear in direct juxtaposition, or discontinuous (7.6b) where the first verb is fronted and the series is interrupted by the subject noun phrase. SVCs may consist of various combinations of intransitive or transitive verbs, as can be seen in examples (7.6b-f). Many SVCs in Matéq contain verbs of motion, such as *moriq* 'return home' and *monìk* 'come, arrive'. These verbs usually appear as the first verb in the series, e.g. (7.6a-c).

(7.6) a.

nyo	*aiq*	*moriq*	*nuruaq*
person	that	return.home	dibble

'those people were returning home from dibbling' (MS3.201)

Intransitive + Subject + Intransitive

b.

monìk	*nyo*	*oji*[223]
come	person	go.to.forest

'the people came back from doing things in the forest' (AK.13)

Subject + Intransitive + Transitive + Undergoer

c.

nomòr	*dua*	*téq*	*moriq*	*nanu*	*toyua*
number	two	this	return.home	AV.fetch	grandmother

ngan	*babei*	*noq*	*ampek*
with	grandfather	at	village

'number two (i.e. the second eldest child) went back to fetch his grandmother and grandfather from the village' (S2.8)

223 Although glossed as 'go to forest', the verb *oji* more specifically implies 'doing things in the forest' (which involves movement if the speaker is not currently in the forest).

Actor + Transitive + Transitive + Undergoer

d. *okoq mikér mpuroyu ngan ampek koq*
1SG AV.think.of miss with village 1SG
'I miss my village' (ES2.96)

Transitive + Undergoer + Transitive + Intransitive

e. *mmìt balo baq tobat moriq*
AV.carry.on.back QUAN head UV.bring return.home
'carrying the heads back home (on their backs)' (MS2.47)

(Undergoer +) Actor + Transitive + Intransitive + Transitive

f. *oniah koyuh ni=ng nabat meber mmàt*
what thing UV=3 AV.carry.away fly AV.bring
'what's that thing it's carrying?' (MS1.53)

Aikhenvald *et al.* (2006:1) point out that verbs in an SVC generally share the same arguments, tense, aspect and polarity properties. This can be seen in (7.6f) above, where the 3rd person pronoun clitic *=ng* functions as the Actor/Subject for all three verbs in the series, while the noun phrase *koyuh* 'thing' functions as the shared Undergoer of both transitive verbs. In (7.7) below the perfect aspect marker *ijéh* has scope over both verbs in the SVC *doq ... bis* 'put to sleep'. Payne (1997:308) also mentions another formal property of SVCs: that clefted elements that are arguments of the second verb in the series can move to the beginning of the entire clause. While I have not yet been able to find examples of cleft constructions with SVCs in the Matéq data collected during this research, there are instances of relativisation, e.g. (7.8) and (7.6f), which involve arguments of non-clause-initial serial verbs. In (7.8) a resumptive pronoun *=ng* is present (see §3.3.5).

(7.7) *jéh doq=n bis onaq babu aiq yoh*
PRFT UV.order=3 sleep child mouse that YOH
'when he had put the mouse pups to sleep' (DN.45-46)

(7.8) *nadéq diq kai dayua kiroq ngkirih=ng*
child REL NEG female like AV.see=3
'the boy that the girl's don't like the look of' (ES6.3)

Along with their syntactic properties, SVCs can be distinguished from other constructions involving multiple verbs by their intonational contour, which is identical to that of a single clause. This can be contrasted with adverbials and other dependent clauses, which often have a marked intonation and a short pause between the clauses.

Aikhenvald (2006:2) also notes that SVCs may increase the overall syntactic valency of a clause by introducing arguments that would not otherwise occur with a particular verb on its own.

This can be seen in (7.9a-b), where the undergoer voice verb *badoq* 'order' forms SVCs with the intransitive verbs *golaq* 'be afraid' and *obu* 'flee', respectively. The presence of the transitive verb *badoq* in the SVC allows for an argument to be introduced in place of an Actor. In both cases this argument is interpreted as a Cause.[224] A similar construction is observed in (7.10) with the verb *minyaq* 'use, wear'. In this case the additional argument is interpreted as an Instrument. In (7.11), the verb *nanu* 'head towards' introduces a Goal noun phrase.

(7.9) a. *golaq=ng* *badoq* *aréa* *téq*
afraid=3 order area this
'they were afraid of this area' (PS.195)
or 'this area made them afraid'
(lit. they were ordered to be afraid by this area)

b. *obu* *badoq* *oniah* *muq*
flee order what 2SG
'what are you running away from?' (T.100)
(lit. you are being ordered to flee by what?)

(7.10) *okoq* *ngapek* *koyuh* *minyaq* *késék*
1SG AV.cut wood AV.use saw
'I cut the wood with a saw' (ES2.99)

(7.11) *osou* *ngeh* *simopoq* *roq* *nanu* *wésé*[225]
wife 3 go.outside want head.towards toilet
'his wife went out to go to the toilet' (WC.15)

Some verbs in an SVC may function in a manner reminiscent of auxiliary verbs in other languages. Payne (1997:310) points out that in many languages it can be difficult to determine whether a particular verb forms part of an SVC or is instead functioning as an auxiliary verb.[226] An example of this is (7.12), where the negative verb *ikai* could conceivably be analysed as either an auxiliary or as part of the SVC *ikai tauq* 'not be able to'. Another auxiliary-like construction is seen in (7.13a-b) with the verb *odok.* These clauses may be interpreted as adversative passives, although the actual syntactic voice is indicated by the form of the other verb(s) in the series and not by *odok* itself. The verb *badoq* in (7.9a-b) above could also be analysed as a causative auxiliary. For the purposes of simplicity, however, all auxiliary-like constructions are analysed as SVCs in this thesis.

224Causativisation with SVCs here can be contrasted with morphological causativisation. One can compare, for instance, the series *doq bis* 'put to sleep' in example (7.7) above with the verb *mpumìs* 'put to sleep'. On the basis of the data collected during this research, it is not clear whether there is an interpretative difference between these two options (cf. Payne 1997:182f on structural distance in causative constructions).

225*Wésé* is a borrowing from Indonesian *WC*.

226Indeed Payne (ibid.) goes on to say that serial verb constructions are 'one major diachronic source for auxiliaries'.

(7.12) *rugu* *diq* *mopou* *ikai=ng* *tauq* *ijou*
chameleon REL white NEG=3 be.able green
'the white chameleon couldn't become green' (R.27)

(7.13) a. *kojoq* *koq* *odok* *ni-nsinoq* *sinòq*
leg 1SG suffer UV-AV.fall.on k.o.knife
'my leg got fallen on by a knife' (ES3.60)

b. *ti-kopek* *odok* *guntik*
ACAUS-cut suffer scissors
'get cut with scissors' (ES5.16)

7.2 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are entire clauses that function as the argument of another clause in which they are embedded. Unlike SVCs where both verbs are equally treated as part of the same clause, constructions with complement clauses contain at least two clauses: a main clause and one clearly subordinate clause. The subordinate complement clause (shown inside square brackets in the examples below) may have its own subject (7.14a), or its subject may be co-referent with an argument of the main clause (7.14b). Complement clauses in Matéq are not usually introduced by a complementiser, although there are two examples of the complementiser *bahawa* attested in the data, one of which is given in (7.15).[227] *Bahawa* is likely an adoption or calque from the formal Indonesian complementiser *bahwa*,[228] especially given that both times it occurred were in elicited sentences.

(7.14) a. *nyaq=ng* *ngkirih* [*lompok* *engei=ng* *aiq*]
NYAQ=3 AV.see have.hole basket=3 that
'and he saw that his *engei* basket had a hole in it' (BD.31)

b. *badoq=ng* *tajuk* [*ngogou* *dioq* *téq* *matéq-éh*]
UV.order=3 river.lizard AV.search.for turtle this just.before
'he told the river lizard to look for the turtle' (BD.41)

(7.15) *nyo* *labi* *ngeh* [*bahawa* *nyamp* *siap* *onù* *téq*]
person AV.say 3 COMP not.exist chicken day this
'people say that there's no chicken (to eat) today' (ES2.62)

227(7.15) is a quotative clause. These are discussed further in (§7.4) below.
228See Sneddon *et al.* (2010:300ff).

7.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses in Matéq are entire dependent clauses that function in the same way as adverbs (see §6.6), i.e. they modify a main clause by providing more information about the time, manner, location, reason, purpose or condition of the action or event described in that clause. Some adverbial clauses are introduced by a complementiser, preposition (7.16a) or quantifier (7.17), while others occur without any introduction (7.16b). The adverbial clauses are shown inside square brackets.

(7.16) a.

tongan	*koq*	*monàp*	[*kaneh*	*koq*	*robuq*	*ramiéh*]
arm	1SG	sore	by	1SG	fall	yesterday

'my arm is sore because I fell yesterday' (ES3.58)

b.

[*jéh*	*mosaq*],	*nan*	*néh*
PRFT	ripe	UV.eat	3

'when it was cooked, he ate it' (T.35)

Adverbial clauses are always optional, in the sense that a main clause would still be complete without them. As can be seen in the examples below, adverbial clauses may appear in almost any position in a main clause: one exception being that nothing can intervene between an undergoer voice verb and its Actor argument (see §4.2.2.2).

7.3.1 Time

Time adverbials ground a clause in temporal space. Those that refer to repeated or habitual action are introduced by the quantifier *tiap* 'each' (7.17). See (§3.3.3) for more on *tiap*.

(7.17)

[*tiap*	*babei=ng*	*memp*],	*nsioq*	*boboq=ng*
each	grandfather=3	lean.forward	red	mouth=3

'every time the old man leant forward, his mouth became red' (S2.43)

Simultaneous action is expressed with adverbial clauses introduced by *sosoq* 'while' (7.18a-c). In these clauses, the action directly following *sosoq* is interpreted as occurring at the same time as the action of the main clause. At least one of these actions tends to be an ongoing action, while the other may also be ongoing as in (7.18a-b) or punctual as in (7.18c).[229] As can be seen in the

229In (7.18c) the adverbial clause introduced with *sosoq* is punctual, while the main clause is ongoing. This is the opposite pattern to the use of English 'while', as indicated by the translation. A similar situation can be seen in the translation of (7.18b).

examples below, *sosoq* is always followed by a pronoun that refers to the subject of the main clause.[230]

(7.18) a. [*sosoq=ng* *nongis*] *néh* *moriq* *bu-boliaq*
while=3 cry 3 return.home BU-return
'while he was crying he returned back home' (OT.18-19)

b. *okoq* *nguruq* *noq* *téq* [*sosoq* *koq* *maca* *bukuq*]
1SG sit at this while 1SG AV.read book
'I'm read a book while sitting here' (ES2.166)

c. *naq* *nadéq* *ngan* *kosuh=ng* *aiq* *yoh* *ngkosuaq*
child child with dog=3 that YOH hide

noq *ponìk* *bota* *koyuh* [*sosoq=ng* *labi* *noq*
at side trunk wood while=3 say at

onaq *kosuh=ng,* *usah,* *ngama*]
child dog=3 don't quiet
'while the little boy and his dog hid behind a log, while he said to his puppy, "Don't! Be quiet!"' (G.57)

Adverbial clauses of time that are not introduced by a preposition or quantifier include (7.19a-b). In (7.19a) the adverbial clause is in inchoative aspect (marked with *ijéh*), and is interpreted as having started before the following action occurred. In (7.19b) the dependent clause *jodi kosuh* 'become a dog' functions as an absolutive, indicating that the event of the subject becoming a dog had been completed before the barking occurred.

(7.19) a. [*jéh* *noq* *romin*], *dioq* *téq* *matéq-éh* *jéh* *bu-runtiq*
PRFT at house turtle this just.before PRFT BU-eagerly

man *buoq* *songa=ng* *matéq-éh*
AV.eat fruit S=3 just.before
'when he got home, the turtle eagerly ate up his *songa* fruit' (BD.29)

b. *jéh* *ngkaua=ng,* [*jodi* *kosuh*]
PRFT bark=3 become dog
'he barked, having become a dog' (MS3.37)

230This pattern is similar to subject marking and may indicate that *sosoq* is in fact a type of verb (see §6.7). Further research is needed to confirm this.

7.3.2 Location

Adverbial clauses of location are formed by dependent predicate locatives which specify the location where an action or event takes place. An example of this is given in (7.20), where the adverbial clause is introduced by the prepositional phrase *noq kona* 'behind'.

(7.20) [*noq* *kona=ng* *téq* *matéq-éh*] *dioq* *téq*
at bottom=3 this just.before turtle this

bu-runtiq *nyusut* *neh*
BU-eagerly AV.gather 3
'behind him the turtle eagerly gathered them up' (BD.25)

7.3.3 Reason

Adverbial clauses of reason offer an explanation of the reason for a particular action, state or event. They can be introduced by one of the prepositions *koneh*[231] (7.21a-c), or *kudiq* (7.22a-b). As can be seen, the adverbial clause may appear at the start of the main clause (7.21a), or at the end of it (7.21b).

(7.21) a. [*koneh=ng* *aiq* *degeq* *sara* *ular* *aiq* *matéq-éh*],
by=3 that constantly UV.attack snake that just.before

nyaq *Bunuo* *Mawa* *téq* *oi* *popar* *obu*
NYAQ B M this be.many splatter flee
'because they were constantly being attacked by that snake, that's why many of (the people of) *Bunuo Mawa* fled all over the place' (MS1.21)

b. *alah* *bi* *Mobi* [*koneh* *Bunuo* *Mawa* *nyora=ng*]
UV.defeat person M by B M AV.attack=3
'the people of *Mobi* lost because of *Bunuo Mawa* attacking them' (MS1.66-67)

c. *tongan* *koq* *monàp* [*kaneh*[232] *koq* *robuq* *ramiéh*]
arm 1SG sore by 1SG fall yesterday
'my arm is sore because I fell yesterday' (ES3.58)

231 *Koneh* may also introduce Cause arguments in some contexts (see §4.1, §4.2.2.5 and §5.10).
232 *Kaneh* is a dialectal variant of *koneh*. See (§1.4).

(7.22) a. *dioq* *téq* *bu-runtiq* *nyusut* *neh,*
turtle this BU-eagerly AV.pick.up 3

[*kudiq* *diq* *bua* *téq* *matéq-éh* *lompok*]
since REL bear this just.before have.holes
'the turtle eagerly picked them up because the bear's one had a hole in the bottom'[233]
(BD.25)

b. *gagou* *tajuk* *dioq* *téq* *matéq-éh,*
UV.look.for river.lizard turtle this just.before

[*kudiq* *tajuk* *diq* *tauq=ng* *melep* *nìk* *pit*]
since river.lizard REL able.to=3 dive to water
'the river lizard went looking for the turtle, because the river lizard could go under the water (whereas the bear could not)' (BD.42)

7.3.4 Purpose

Adverbial clauses of purpose indicate the intention behind a particular action or event. They are introduced by one of the complementisers *nyaq* 'for, in order to'[234] (7.23a-b) or *mané* 'so that' (7.24). Interestingly, the meaning of *nyaq* in (7.23c) is unclear.

(7.23) a. *noq* *muo* *datnéh* *jéh* *adeah* *alat-alat* [*nyaq* *mongki* *jajaq*]
at front 3PL PRFT exist tool-RED for AV.make cake
'in front of them there were already tools for making cakes' (BO.9)

b. *laq* *tauq=ng* *roti* *nouq,* [*nyaq=ng* *muruh=ng*]
maybe know=3 meaning clear for=3 AV.plant=3
'maybe he knew how to clear forest for a rice field, in order for him to plant it'
(MS1.57)

c. *at* *yoh* *nyaq* *koq* *moroq*
that YOH for 1SG AV.forbid
'that's why I forbade (it)' (MS3.36)
(lit. that is in order that I forbade (it))

233 The context of this utterance is that the bear has been collecting fruit but, since his basket has a hole in the bottom, it has all been falling out and the turtle has been following along behind diligently picking up the fruit. See Appendix 3.

234 This is not to be confused with other uses of *nyaq*. See (§6.6) and the introduction to (§6).

(7.24) *sayep* *balo* *bi* *ampek* *adeapm* *téq* *matéq-éh,*
UV.splash QUAN person village 3SG this just.before

[*mané=ng* *bisoq*]
so.that=3 wet
'the village people splashed him with water so that he got wet' (OT.11-12)

Adverbial clauses of purpose may also be signified with the complementisers *mant* and *maq* 'if, so'. These complementisers are often associated with adverbial clauses of condition (see §7.3.5 below). However, in certain contexts they may introduce dependent clauses that can be interpreted as adverbials of condition or adverbials of purpose (7.25a-b). As indicated by the translations, both (7.25a) and (7.25b) can be understood as containing either an adverbial of condition, or of purpose. This ambiguity is usually resolved by the discourse context of the utterance in question. The purposive interpretation appears to be available only when the dependent clause follows the main clause. When the reverse is the case, as in (7.26), only the conditional interpretation is possible.

(7.25) a. *okoq* *minyaq* *sipatu* *mant* *kai* *kojoq* *coméq*
1SG AV.wear shoes if NEG leg dirty
'I wear shoes so my feet don't get dirty' (ES5b.115)
or 'I wear shoes if my feet aren't dirty'

b. *okoq* *minyaq* *sipatu* *maq* *kai* *kojoq* *coméq*
1SG AV.wear shoes if NEG leg dirty
'I wear shoes so my feet don't get dirty' (ES5b.116)
or 'I wear shoes if my feet aren't dirty'

(7.26) *maq* *kai* *kojoq* *koq* *coméq,* *okoq* *minyaq* *sipatu*
if NEG leg 1SG dirty 1SG AV.wear shoes
'if my feet aren't dirty, I wear shoes' (ES5b.118)

7.3.5 Condition

Adverbial clauses of condition in Matéq are used to express a condition or requirement which must be met in order for main clause to be true. Conditional adverbial clauses are introduced by one of the two complementisers *maq* (7.27a) or *mant* (7.27b), both of which can be translated 'if'. Negative conditional adverbial clauses can be also formed when one of the negative verbs *nyamp* (7.28) or *ikai* (7.29) is used in the dependent clause.

(7.27) a. *tapi* *matéq* [*maq* *moriq*], *kuat=n*
but soon if return.home UV.say=3
'"but soon if you're heading back home," she said' (OB.77)

b. *mant* *jéh* *bous* *kap* *nginòk* *okoq* *téq* […]
if PRFT sick.of 2SG.HON AV.visit.repeatedly 1SG this
'if you are sick of coming to see me all the time...' (MS3.85)

(7.28) [*mant* *nyamp* *méq* *monu=ng*],
if not.exist 1PL.EXCL AV.pick=3

kai *nnàt* *tauq* *man* *neh*
NEG 2PL be.able AV.eat 3
'if we hadn't of picked them, you wouldn't be able to eat them' (ES4.10)

Counterfactual clauses (in the sense of Payne 1997:319) are expressed with negative conditional adverbial clauses, such as the ones in (7.28) and (7.29). As can be seen in the example, these clauses are used to express what might have happened if a certain event or action had not taken place.

(7.29) [*maq* *kai* *muq* *mutoq* *koyuh*], *pasti* *kai* *koq* *robuq*
if NEG 2SG AV.cut wood surely NEG 1SG fall
'if you hadn't of cut the wood, then I wouldn't have fallen' (WC.21)

Hypothetical clauses are also formed with *maq* or *mant* as in (7.30) below.

(7.30) [*maq* *okoq* *mah* *omuq*], *okoq* *kai* *koq* *ngkoji* *aiq* *yoh*
if 1SG like 2SG 1SG NEG 1SG AV.do that YOH
'if I was you, I wouldn't do that' (ES5.163)

A further type of condition adverbial is the concessive clause (see Payne 1997:320). In Matéq, these are formed with a dependent clause introduced by *maq* or *mant*, followed by a main clause which usually contains the particle *siq*.[235] This can be seen in (7.31), where the condition adverbial appears at the start of the main clause which contains *siq*.

(7.31) [*maq* *onù* *roq* *ujat*] *siq* *timonoq*
if day want rain SIQ go.down
'even if it's raining, (we'll) go out anyway[236]' (ES5.160)

235The function of *siq* here is not clear. It may give extra emphasis to the unexpectedness of the concession. See (§6.11.2).

236The meaning of *timonoq* is actually 'go down' but it is often used in the sense of 'go out of the house', since traditionally Dayak houses are built on raised stilts and must be exited by a notched-log ladder.

7.4 Quotative Clauses

Quotative clauses contain direct or indirect reported speech. Direct quotations are usually pronounced in a way that is intended to mimic the quotee's original intonation. In some discourse contexts, particularly when a relatively long conversation is being narrated as in (7.32), this change in intonation is sufficient to differentiate the part of an utterance which is a quote.[237]

(7.32)

pu-nanu=ng,	*nji=ng,*	*laka*	*put*	*ku*	*nyaruah,*
UV-AV.head.towards=3	AV.see=3	EXCLT	EXCLT	thing	strange

moniah	*maih=ng*	*muruh*	*ku*	*téq*
how	only=ADV	AV.plant	thing	this

'he went over to (it), (he) looked at it, “Oh what a strange thing!
Just how do you plant this thing?”' (MS1.54-56)

In most cases, however, quotes are marked with a quotative verb. These are discussed further in the subsections below; indirect quotative clauses in (§7.4.1) and direct quotative clauses in (§7.4.2).

7.4.1 Indirect Quotes

Indirect quotes can be marked with the verb *labi* 'say' (7.33a-c). In (7.33a) *labi* appears in undergoer voice, while in (7.33b) and (7.33c) it is in actor voice. In (7.33b), *labi* is followed by the 3rd person pronoun *ngéh* which is co-referent with the entire indirect quote that follows. In all the examples below the content of the indirect quote follows the verb.

(7.33) a.

ular	*at*	*yoh*	*ka*	*ku-labi*	*nyo*	*bisa*
snake	that	YOH	MIR	UV-AV.say	person	poisonous

'people say that snake is poisonous' (ES1.86)
(lit. that snake is said by people to be poisonous)

b.

ijéh	*koq*	*labi*	*ngéh*	*kaléq*	*méq*	*ngarap*
PRFT	1SG	AV.say	3	too	1PL.EXCL	happy

maq	*monìk*	*nyaq=ng*
if	come	NYAQ=3

'I said we'd be so happy if he came' (ES3.164)

237The appearance of exclamatives in (7.32) may also be involved in signalling the beginning of a direct quote.

c. *siq* *datn* *labi* *datn* *roq* *monìk*
also 3PL AV.say 3PL want come
'they also said they are coming' (ES4.8)

Indirect quotes may also be marked with the undergoer voice quotative verb *kuat* 'say' (7.34a-b).[238] In (7.34a), the phrase *kuat okoq* 'I say' interrupts the content of the quote *ebeq cirito=ng* 'the story is stupid'. In (7.34b) the entire quoted phrase appears after the verb and subject pronoun. In some instances *kuat* combines with *labi* to form a quotative serial verb construction as in (7.35). In this example, the verb *labi* again takes the 3rd person pronoun *=ng* which is co-referent with the following quote (cf. 7.34b).

(7.34) a. *saja,* *ebeq* *kuat* *okoq* *cirito=ng*
EXCLT stupid UV.say 1SG story=3
'whoa, it's stupid I say, that story' (MS3.173)

b. *kuat* *néh* *siq* *roq* *monìk*
UV.say 3 SIQ want come
'he said (he) was coming' (ES3.162)

(7.35) *kuat* *néh* *labi=ng* *siq* *roq* *monìk*
UV.say 3 AV.say=3 SIQ want come
'he said (he) was coming' (ES3.163)

The verb *nyusut* 'ask' may also introduce an indirect quote, as in (7.36). In this case the addressee argument is also expressed as the prepositional phrase *nìk polisi* 'to the police'.

(7.36) *okoq* *nyusut* *noq* *kiah* *arok* *términal* *nìk* *polisi*
1SG AV.ask at where place terminal to police
'I asked the police where the terminal was' (ES3.180)

The noun *iyu* 'voice, sound' in Matéq may be used in another type of indirect quote, shown in (7.37). In this example *iyu* functions as a pronoun which replaces a quote that has already been mentioned before in discourse and is being repeated again.

(7.37) *susut=n* *siq* *iyu* *aiq* *yoh*
UV.ask=3 SIQ sound that YOH
'he asked (him) the same thing' (T.22)

238*Kuat* is not attested in actor voice.

7.4.2 Direct Quotes

Direct quotes in Matéq can be introduced with a variety of quotative verbs. One of these is *labi* 'say' (7.38a-c). *Labi* may appear either with (7.38a) or without (7.38b) the 3rd person pronoun *ngéh*, which is co-referent with the content of the quote. Direct quotes may also be introduced with *labi* when it is in undergoer voice (7.38b) or analytic undergoer voice (7.38c).

(7.38) a.
Oya	*Babu*	*labi*	*ngéh*	*nìk*	*Dayua*	*Niyo*
mother	mouse	AV.say	3	to	D	N

ni-namuh	*nyo*	*onaq*	*koq*	*éh*
UV-AV-bathe	person	child	1SG	EMP

'Mother Mouse said to *Dayua Niyo*, “Bathe my children, eh!”' (ES3.47)

b.
ku-labi	*Oya*	*Babu*	*nìk*	*Dayua*	*Niyo*
UV-AV.say	mother	mouse	to	D	N

ni-namuh	*nyo*	*onaq*	*koq*	*éh*
UV-AV.bathe	person	child	1SG	EMP

'Mother Mouse said to *Dayua Niyo*, “Bathe my children, eh!”' (ES3.48)

c.
ni	*koq*	*labi*	*nomoq*	*ngeh*	*kaléq*	*méq*
UV	1SG	AV.say	to	3	too	1PL.EXCL

ngarap	*mant*	*monìk*	*omuq*
happy	if	come	2SG

'I said to him “We'd be happy if you came”' (ES3.165)

The undergoer voice quotative verb *kuat* 'say' also introduces direct quotes (7.39a-d). *Kuat* is usually followed by the Actor argument, which specifies the speaker. In example (7.39d) the phrase which follows *kuat* refers to a speech event (and to the speaker by implication), rather than to the speaker directly. The quote itself may either precede (7.39a-b) or follow (7.39c) the verb.

(7.39) a.
dadek	*deap*	*maih=ng*	*poja*	*téq*	*kuat=n*
UV.split	1PL.INCL	only=ADV	basket	this	UV.say=3

'“Let's just split this *poja* basket,” he said' (BD.8)

b.
okoq	*lah*	*monu*	*boboq=ng*	*kuat*	*bua*
1SG	EMP	AV.take	mouth=3	UV.say	bear

'“I'll take the top part,” said the bear' (BD.13)

c. *kuat* *Lukas* *Markus* *jéh* *ng* *man*
UV.say L M PRFT 3 eat
'*Lukas* said, "*Markus* has already eaten"' (ES2.146)

d. *motoq* *nnàt* *kuat* *sumpah* *ular* *nyumpah=ng*
die 2PL UV.say curse snake AV.curse=3
'"You'll all die" said the curse of the snake cursing them' (MS3.181)

In some contexts *kuat* can form a serial verb construction with another verb of utterance. An example of this is (7.40) where *kuat* is serialised with *nyubuaq* 'whisper'. In this construction, *kuat* functions in a general quotative sense by marking the quote itself and specifying the speaker, while *nyubuaq* introduces the addressee and encodes more information regarding the manner in which the quote was spoken.

(7.40) *apa* *kuat* *néh* *nyubuaq=ng* *nìk* *okoq*
A UV.say 3 AV.whisper=3 to 1SG
'He whispered "*apa*" to me' (ES3.168)

Another verb which often appears in a serial construction with *kuat* is *monà* 'scold' (7.41a-b). In both these examples *monà* functions to introduce the addressee, while also implying a certain amount of curtness in the manner that the quote is spoken.

(7.41) a. *ieaq* *ga* *nyaruah* *kuat* *Dayang* *Kumang* *monà=ng*
stop don't strange UV.say D K AV.scold=3
'"Don't be so surprised!" said *Dayang Kumang* to him' (MS1.151)

b. *aiq* *baka-oniah=ng* *tauq* *bur-odéq* *adeap* *kuat*
well like-what=3 be.able BU-younger.sibling 1PL.INCL UV.say

tajuk *monà* *dioq*
river.lizard AV.scold turtle
'"Now just how is it that we are siblings?" said the river lizard to the turtle' (BD.54)

Direct quotes that contain questions are often introduced with the verb *nyusut* 'ask' (7.42a-c). The verb may appear in either actor voice (7.42a&c) or undergoer voice (7.42b), and the content of the quote usually follows the verb. In the elicited example in (7.42c), the language consultant gave two tokens of the same clause, one where *nyusut* appeared on its own and another where *nyusut* appeared in conjunction with *kuat,* shown in brackets below.

(7.42) a. *nyaq Oya Babu nyusut=n aiq, noniah muq kotéq*
NYAQ mother mouse AV.ask=3 well do.what 2SG here
'and Mother Mouse asked her, “Well, what are you doing here?”' (DN.17-18)

b. *susut=n Oya Babu, O Oya Babu,*
UV.ask=3 mother mouse VOC mother mouse

adeah ngkirih ribatu koq [...]
exist AV.see coconut 1SG
'she asked Mother Mouse, “Oh Mother Mouse, did you see my old coconut...?”' (OB.22-23)

c. *konsi koq nyusut roq kokiah* (*kuat néh*) *soq ojuq*
friend 1SG AV.ask want where UV.say 3 from far
'my friend cried out, “Where are you going?” from afar' (ES3.175)

The response to a question may be directly quoted in Matéq with the verb *nyamùat* 'answer' (7.43a-d). In (7.43a-b) the verb appears in undergoer voice, while in (7.43c-d) it is in actor voice. In all the examples below the content of the quote follows the verb and the speaker is specified by a noun phrase. In (7.43b) *nyamùat* appears in conjunction with *kuat.*

(7.43) a. *samùat Oya Babu, aiq, adeah* […]
UV.answer mother mouse well exist
'Mother Mouse answered, “Yes, I did...”' (OB.24)

b. *samùat dioq, aiq kai tauq ngkomis okoq kuat=n*
UV.answer turtle well NEG be.able AV.kill 1SG say=3
'the turtle answered, “Hey, you can't kill me!” he said' (BD.52)

c. *oya ngeh nyamùat, ya, silakan*[239]
mother 3 AV.answer yes go.ahead
'her mother replied, “Yes, you may”' (SG.17-18)

d. *nadéq dayua aiq yoh nyamùat=n,*[240] *okoq kai koq tauq*
child female that YOH AV.answer=3 1SG NEG 1SG be.able

usaq koq mangeah
because 1SG have.fever
'the girl replied, “I can't, because I've got a fever”' (SG.24-25)

239The form *silakan* is almost certainly a borrowing from Indonesian *silahkan* 'please, you may' (see Sneddon *et al.* 2010:337).

240It is not clear whether this pronoun refers to the addressee or whether it is co-referent with the content of the quote, like the examples above with *labi.*

The noun *iyu* 'voice, sound' may also be used as a quotative predicate, as in (7.44). Here the phrase *iyu ngeh* 'he said (lit. his voice)' is inserted during a pause between two consecutive quotes.

(7.44)

mant	*baka*	*aiq,*	*iyu*	*ngeh,*	*téq*	*yoh*
if	like	that	sound	3	this	YOH

tobat	*sékét*	*koq,*	*kuat=n*
UV.bring		knife	1SG	say=3

"'if that's the case,' he said, 'here, take my knife,' he said' (BD.46)

7.6 Focus and Topicalisation

Pragmatic focus[241] and topicalisation in Matéq is achieved through the use of several different syntactic constructions: fronting, dislocation and clefts. Fronting involves the appearance of a constituent, usually an argument of the verb, at the beginning of the clause followed by a short pause. The rest of the clause remains syntactically unchanged. By appearing in this position in contrast to its usual one, the fronted element is interpreted as a marked constituent and, consequently, as a discourse topic. This can be seen in (7.45a-b), where the first example shows an unmarked clause, while the second example contains a fronted Undergoer argument. The difference in interpretation is that in the second example the Undergoer has more prominence, i.e. the question can be said to be 'about' the papaya, while in the first example neither of the two arguments is especially prominent and the question primarily concerns the activity of cooking. The Undergoer in (7.45b) is also definite, compared to the indefinite Undergoer in (7.45a).

(7.45) a.

taneaq	*koq*	*buoq*	*pisak*
UV.cook	1SG	fruit	papaya

'can I cook papaya?' (ES5.235)

b.

buoq	*pisak*	*téq,*	*taneaq*	*koq*
fruit	papaya	this	UV.cook	1SG

'this papaya, can I cook it?' (ES5.237)

In contrast to fronting, dislocation involves both the appearance of a clausal element in a marked position *and* the use of a co-referent resumptive pronoun which appears in the dislocated element's usual syntactic position. Dislocation can occur to the left (7.46a-b) or right (7.47a-b) of the main

241 In this thesis, the term *focus* is used in a broad sense to refer to clauses that are 'pragmatically marked'. This usage therefore includes contrastive focus constructions. See Payne (1997:268f).

clause (the dislocated element is shown inside square brackets; the resumptive pronoun is underlined). It may be accompanied by a slight pause which separates the dislocated element from the rest of the clause, although this was not present in most of the attested examples (including those below). The overall pragmatic function of dislocation is similar to that of fronting, i.e. the dislocated element is given discourse prominence.

(7.46) a. [*téq*] *minyaq* *koyuh* *nyo* *mongki* *ngéh*
this AV.use wood person AV.make 3
'this is made of wood' (ES2.2)
(lit. this using wood people made it[242])

b. *usaq* [*toplés*] *kai=ng* *neteap=m*
because jar NEG=3 AV.close=3
'because he didn't close the jar' (G.8)
(lit. because the jar he didn't close it)

(7.47) a *goq* *godéq* *bi* *Nongeh* *ngopik=ng* [*cirito* *diq* *ai* *yoh*]
usually afraid person N AV.ear=3 story REL that YOH
'the people of *Nongeh* are usually afraid to hear it, that story' (i.e. the story just told) (MS3.166)

b. *agal* *nyanàr=ng* *baka* *téq* [*bolo* *pulima*]
all lean=3 like this QUAN warrior
'they were all leaning back like this, the warriors' (MS2.120)

Another type of construction related to focus and topicalisation is the cleft construction. Clefts are formed when an element, usually an argument of the verb, appears clause-initially and the rest of the clause takes the form of an identificational phrase introduced by the relativiser *diq*. Clefts are often associated with the speaker's strong commitment to the truth of the identity or content of the fronted element. This can be seen in (7.48a-c) below, where cleft constructions are used to clarify exactly who or what was involved in the action or event described by the clause. (7.48a) and (7.48b) show Actor and Undergoer arguments, respectively, in clefted position. As can be seen by comparing the voice of the verb in each of these two clauses, the clefted argument is usually the syntactic subject of the clause.[243]

242Depending on one's assumptions regarding the expected basic word order for a clause like this, the verb phrase *minyaq koyuh* could be analysed as a fronted constituent of an SVC (*mongki ngéh minyaq koyuh*) in this example.
243This is similar to the restrictions on relativisation discussed in (§3.3.5).

(7.48) a. *téq* *diq* *robuq*
this REL fall
'it was this one that fell down' (ES5.152)

b. *Markus* *diq* *mangkok* *Nila*
M REL AV.hit N
'It was *Markus* who hit *Nila*' (ES3.211)

c. *Nila* *diq* *ni* *Markus* *mangkok*
N REL UV M AV.hit
'It was *Nila* whom *Markus* hit' (ES3.210)

Clefts can also be used in conjunction with other types of construction. In (7.49), for instance, a cleft appears in a content question (see §6.10.1 for more on content questions). In (7.50) the Actor argument (*okoq*) is clefted, while the Undergoer argument (*tubiq téq*) is left-dislocated. This results in a situation where both arguments are placed in topic positions (in the sense of Payne 1997:270), although the first of the two appears to be more prominent.

(7.49) *osiah* *koh* *diq* *ngompit* *akar=ng*
who QUES REL AV.drag rattan=3
'who was it that dragged the rattan?' (MS1.146)

(7.50) *tubiq* *téq* *okoq* *diq* *naneaq=ng*
rice this 1SG REL AV.cook=3
'I cooked this rice' (ES2.155)
(lit. this rice, it was I who cooked it)

7.7 Coordination

Clauses in Matéq can be coordinated with the conjunction *ngan* 'with', as in (7.51).[244] Exclusion (in the sense of Payne 1997:337) may be indicated by one of two ways: by simple juxtaposition (7.52a), or by using the conjunction *tapi* 'but' (7.52b).[245]

244*Ngan* can also be used to conjoin noun phrases. See (§3.3).
245*Tapi* is possibly a borrowing from Indonesian *(te)tapi* 'but'.

(7.51) *noq* *ponìk* *romin* *néh* *adeah* *pit,*
at side.of house 3 exist water

ngan *wc* *datneh* *dikiat* *ponìk* *pit*
with toilet 3PL close side.of water
'next to their house there was a river, and their toilet was next to the river'
(WC.2)

(7.52) a. *gagou* *néh,* *nyamp* *néh* *noput=n*
UV.search.for 3 not.exist 3 AV.meet=3
'she searched for it, (but) didn't find it' (DN.10)

b. *adeah=ng* *ngkirih* *ribatu* *aiq* *maman*
exist=3 AV.see old.coconut that float.away

tapi *ka=ng* *doput* *mungkuat=n*
but NEG=3 be.able AV.take=3
'he had seen the old coconut floating past but he hadn't been able to get it'
(OB.17)

Appendix 1: Basic Vocabulary Wordlist

This appendix lists 210 items of basic vocabulary that were collected during the course of research for this study. The list is based on the one used in the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database project (see: http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/austronesian/) and is organised according to the alphabetical order of the English translations.

English and Indonesian translations are given on the left-hand side, while phonetic and orthographic Matéq forms are given on the right-hand side. The phonetic forms are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet; the orthographic forms use the orthography adopted for this study (see §2.6). All lexemes were elicited using the Indonesian words as prompts. The language consultant was from the *Bi Somù* dialect group.

English	Indonesian	Matéq Phonetic	Matéq Orthographic
above	di atas	nõʔ somu	*noq somù*[246]
(be) afraid	takut	golaʔ	*golaq*
all	semua	simũ̲ã̲	*simua*[247]
and	dan	ŋãn	*ngan*
ash	abu	abuh	*abuh*
at	di	nõʔ	*noq*
back (of body)	punggung	rutuk	*rutuk*
bad	jahat	bek	*bék*
belly	perut	putu̲a̲	*putua*
below	di bawah	nõʔ sigat	*noq sigat*[248]
big	besar	doi	*doi*
bird	burung	mõnũ̲ã̲ʔ	*monuaq*
bite	menggigit	ᵑgkuat	*ngkuat*
black	hitam	mõrɨp	*morep*
blood	darah	dojoʔ	*doyoq*

246*Noq somù* refers to something that is positioned above something else. If the top item is touching the bottom one, then the preposition *noq tunuh* 'on top of' is used.
247See (§3.3.3) for more on quantifiers.
248When referring to the space underneath a tree or house, the preposition *noq rubuq* 'underneath' is used.

blow	bertiup	nũpuh	*nupuh*
blunt	tumpul	po^{n}tu͡al	*pontual*
bone	tulang	tura	*tura*
branch	dahan/cabang	dat	*dat*
breathe	bernafas	ŋãsi͡a	*ngasea*
burn	membakar	ɲõũ	*nyou*
buy	membeli	mĩrih	*mirih*
chest, breast	dada	isu͡aʔ	*isuaq*
chew	memamah	ŋũ^{m}poʔ	*ngumpoq*[249]
child	anak	onãʔ	*onaq*
choose	memilih	mĩli͡ah	*miliah*
climb	naik	ŋãtuh	*ngatuh*
climb (tree)	memanjat	ŋãtuh	*ngatuh*
cloud	awan	romã	*roma*
cold	dingin	mõdut	*modut*[250]
come	datang	mõnik	*monìk*
cook	memasak	butanɨ̃ãʔ	*butaneaq*
count	berhitung	ŋĩtok	*ngitok*
cry	menangis	nõŋĩs	*nongis*
cut	memotong	ŋãpɨk	*ngapek*
day	hari	onu	*onù*
die	mati	kobis	*kobis*
dig	menggali	ŋõ^{n}ʧi͡ah	*ngonciah*
dirty	kotor	ʧomẽʔ	*coméq*
dog	anjing	kosuh	*kosuh*
dream	memimpi	^{m}pɨmɨh	*mpemeh*
drink	minum	ɲɨ̃nɨ͡ap	*nyenèap*

249*Ngumpoq* generally implies the chewing of betel leaf and areca nut.
250Another word for 'cold' is [ʧolap] *colap*.

dry	kering	korik	*korik*
(to) dry out	mengering	ŋõrik	*ngorik*
dust	debu	dobu	*dobu*
ear	telinga	kopik	*kopik*
earth, ground	tanah	tonõʔ	*tonoq*
eat	makan	mãn	*man*[251]
egg	telur	ⁿturu	*nturu*
eight	delapan	mɨ̃ĩ	*mei*
eye	mata	mãtɨh	*mateh*
fall	jatuh	robuʔ	*robuq*
far	jauh	oʤuʔ	*ojuq*
fat	lemuk	lomõʔ	*lomoq*
father	bapak	omã	*oma*
feather	bulu	buruh	*buruh*
female	perempuan	dajua	*dayua*
fifty	lima puluh	rɨmɨ̃h puruʔ	*remeh puruq*
fire	api	opi	*opi*
fish	ikan	ikat	*ikat*
five	lima	rɨmɨ̃h	*remeh*
flesh	daging	dagit	*dagit*[252]
flow	mengalir	mãmãn	*maman*
flower	bunga	suat	*suat*
(to) fly	terbang	mɨ̃bɨr	*meber*
forest	hutan	torut	*torut*
four	empat	ᵐpat	*mpat*
fruit	buah	buoʔ	*buoq*

251Another word for 'eat' is [makat] *makat*. Language consultants explained that *makat* implies that one is eating rice (i.e. a whole meal), while *man* can be used to when one is eating anything. Another word, [ᵐpola] *mpola*, implies that someone is eating something that is not usually eaten (e.g. the type of rice normally used for making rice wine).

252Another word for 'flesh' is [isiah] *isiah*.

good	bagus	baek	*baék*
grass	rumput	iduh	*iduh*
green	hijau	iʤou	*ijou*
grow	bertumbuh	laⁿta	*lanta*
hair	rambut	buruh	*buruh*
hand	tangan	toŋãn	*tongan*
he, she, it	dia	adɨap ŋẽh	*adeapngéh*
head	kepala	baʔ	*baq*
hear	mendengar	ŋõpik	*ngopik*
heavy	berat	obat	*obat*
hide	bersembunyi	ᵑkosuaʔ	*ngkosuaq*
hit	memukul	mãᵑkok	*mangkok*
hold	memegang	mãgɨa	*magea*
hot	panas	latɨap	*lateap*
house	rumah	romĩn	*romin*
husband	suami	banɨh	*baneh*
how?	bagaimana?	baka kiah	*bakakiah*
hunt	memburu	ŋãnɨãᵐp	*nganeamp*
I	saya	okoʔ	*okoq*
if	kalau	mãⁿt	*mant*
inside	di dalam	nõʔ uwah	*noq uwah*
intestines	usus	tonĩ	*toni*
kill	membunuh	ᵑkomis	*ngkomìs*
know	tahu	tauʔ	*tauq*
lake	danau	donu	*donu*
laugh	tertawa	notou	*notou*
leaf	daun	dout	*dout*
leg, foot	kaki	koʤoʔ	*kojoq*
left	kiri	mõjiat	*moyiat*

lie down	berbaring	ŋũle	*ngulé*
lightning	petir	ʧilat	*cilat*
live, be alive	hidup	mɨ̃dɨ̯ap	*medeap*
liver	hati	oti	*oti*
long	panjang	omuh	*omùh*
louse	kutu	gutih	*gutih*
male	laki-laki	dari	*dari*
mist	embun	omut	*omùt*
moon	bulan	burat	*burat*
mosquito	nyamuk	puruŋã	*purunga*
mother	ibu	oja	*oya*
mouse	tikus	babu	*babu*
mouth	mulut	bobo?	*boboq*
name	nama	odat	*odat*
narrow	sempit	sakɨ̯at	*sakeat*
near	dekat	dikɨ̯at	*dikiat*
neck	leher	rinãn	*rinan*
needle	jarum	ʤarɨb	*jareb*
new	baru	bauh	*bauh*
night	malam	ŋãrɨp	*ngarep*
nine	sembilan	puri	*puri*
nose	hidung	n:u̯a	*nnua*
not	tidak	ikɑ̯i	*ikai*
old	tua	tuh	*tuh*
one	satu	ɲẽ?	*nyéq*
one hundred	seratus	siratus	*siratus*
one thousand	seribu	siribu	*siribu*
open	membuka	n:u̯as	*nnùas*
other	lain	bɨkɨt	*beket*

person	orang	ɲõ	*nyo*
(to) plant	menanam	mũruh	*muruh*
rain	hujan	uʤat	*ujat*
red	merah	ⁿsio͡ʔ	*nsioq*
right	kanan	touh	*touh*
road	jalanan	ʤorat	*jorat*
roof	atap	roat	*roat*
root	akar	uat	*uwat*
rope	tali	torih	*torih*
rotten	busuk	mõdap	*modap*
salt	garam	garap	*garap*
sand	pasir	kuroso͡iaʔ	*kurosiaq*
say	mengatakan	labi	*labi*
scratch	menggaruk	ŋõɲũ	*ngonyu*
sea	laut	lawɨt	*lawet*
see	melihat	ⁿtɨbɨ͡aʔ	*ntebeaq*
seven	tujuh	iʤuʔ	*ijuq*
sew	menjahit	ɲĩ͡ãt	*nyiat*
sharp	runcing	ʲⁿʤurik	*njurik*
shoot	menembak	nĩmak	*nimàk*
short	pendek	kidik	*kidik*
shoulder	bahu	amɨ̃	*ame*
shy	malu	mãŋɨ̃n	*mangen*
sit	duduk	ŋũruʔ	*nguruq*
six	enam	n:ɨm	*nnèm*
skin	kulit	kuri͡at	*kuriat*
sky	langit	roŋĩ͡ãⁿt	*rongiant*
sleep	tidur	bis	*bis*
small	kecil	diʧik	*dicik*

smell	mencium (hidung)	nãd͡ʒaʔ	*nadeaq*
smoke	asap	asap	*asap*
snake	ular	ular	*ular*
sore	sakit	mõnap	*monàp*
spider	laba-laba	rikokoʔ	*rikokoq*
spit	meludah	rut͡ʃuah	*rucuah*
split	membelah	mũtoʔ	*mutoq*
squeeze	memeras/menghimpit	ⁿtiris	*ntiris*
stab	menusuk	ŋjĩⁿ͡t͡ʃɨp	*ngincep*
stand	berdiri	ⁿtakɨt	*ntaket*
star	bintang	t͡ʃibiⁿta	*cibinta*
steal	mencuri	nõᵑ͡ku	*nongku*
stone	batu	botuh	*botuh*
suck	mengisap	ɲũt͡ʃut	*nyucut*
swell up	membengkak	boᵑ͡kaʔ	*bongkaq*
swim	berenang	kudamĩ	*kudami*
tail	ekor	uᵑ͡ki	*ungki*
ten	sepuluh	sɨm͡ɨ̃ã	*semea*
that	itu	at	*at*[253]
they	mereka	dat nẽh	*datnéh*
thick	tebal	kopa	*kopa*
thin	tipis	ridiʔ	*ridiq*
think	pikir	bupiker	*bupikér*
this	ini	teʔ	*téq*
three	tiga	tar͡uah	*taruah*
throw	melemparkan	lejek	*léyék*
thunder	guntur	dɨn͡ɨ̃ã	*denea*
tie	mengikat	ŋĩsi͡at	*ngisiat*

253See (§3.3.6) for more on demonstratives.

tongue	lidah	ʤiroʔ	*jiroq*
tooth	gigi	ʤɨpɨt	*jepet*
tree	pohon	bota kojuh	*bota koyuh*
'true	benar	odok	*odok*
trunk	batang	bota	*bota*
turn	(mem)belok(kan)	ɲĩ^{ŋ}kap	*nyingkap*
twenty	dua puluh	idu puruʔ	*idu puruq*
two	dua	idu	*idu*
vomit	muntah	ŋũtoʔ	*ngutoq*
walk	berjalan	buʤalat	*bujalat*
water	air	pit	*pit*
we (incl)	kita	adɨap	*adeap*
we (excl)	kami	omẽʔ	*oméq*
well	baik	baek	*baék*
wet	basah	biso?	*bisoq*
what?	apa?	oni͡ãh	*oniah*
when?	kapan?	n:at nẽh	*nnàtnéh*
where?	di mana?	nõʔ kia͡h	*noq kiah*[254]
white	putih	mõpou͡	*mopou*
who?	siapa?	osi͡ãh	*osiah*
wide	lebar	doi	*doi*
wife	isteri	oso͡u	*osou*
wind	angin	bonõʔ	*bonoq*
wing	sayap	irɨt	*iret*
work	bekerja	kuriʤa	*kurija*
worm	cacing	ʧaʧik	*cacik*
yawn	menguap	^{m}pap	*mpap*
year	tahun	sowoʔ	*sowoq*

254See (§6.10.1.4).

yellow	kuning	mõ^{n}tis	*montis*
you (sg)	kamu	omũʔ	*omuq*[255]
you (pl)	kalian	n:at	*nnàt*

255The pronoun forms given here are the standard pronouns. Matéq also has a set of honorific pronouns, see (§3.2.1).

Appendix 2: Examples of actor and undergoer voice forms

This appendix presents the actor and undergoer voice forms of 43 transitive verbs.[256] As discussed in (§4.2), the relationship between these two forms is not always clear. In some cases such as *teteap* 'close', the undergoer voice form appears to be basic, while actor voice is inflected with the homorganic nasal prefix *N-* (see §4.2.1).

English Translation	Actor Voice	Undergoer Voice
answer	*nyamuat*	*samuat*
carry away	*nabat*	*tabat*
hit against	*nyontuaq*	*sontuaq*
ask	*nyusut*	*susut*
close	*neteap*	*teteap*
twist	*miris*	*piris*
feel	*ngkinyam*	*kinyam*
ignite	*nsayiat*	*sayiat*
see	*ngkirih*	*kirih*

In other cases both actor and undergoer forms appear to be derived through a variety of morphological strategies, e.g. *ngopik* and *kapik*. See (§4.2.1).

English Translation	Actor Voice	Undergoer Voice
listen	*ngopik*	*kapik*
steal	*nongku*	*tangku*
attack	*nyora*	*sara*
extinguish	*mojap*	*pajap*
burn	*nyou*	*sau*
hang	*noint*	*tait*
scratch	*ngoyu*	*gayu*
wash	*mopoq*	*papoq*
chase	*ngesek*	*kasek*
splash	*nyeyemp*	*sayep*
poke	*ngacua*	*tacua*
leave behind	*ntogat*	*tagat*

256All verbs are transcribed here using the orthography introduced in (§2.6).

show	*mpodoq*	*padoq*
dig	*ngonciah*	*tanciah*
forbid	*moroq*	*saroq*
make	*mongki*	*tangki*
call	*moboq*	*toboq*
climb	*ngatuh*	*natuh*
eat	*man*	*nan*
scatter around	*nganyéq*	*nanyéq*
spread out	*ngais*	*nais*
scrub	*ngisuq*	*nisuq*
winnow rice	*nyeyengk*	*neyengk*
throw	*léyék*	*layék*
kick repeatedly	*ronùk*	*ranùk*
fry	*ronà*	*ranà*
bring	*mmàt*	*tobat*
light up	*ngontah*	*nontah, tontah, tantah*

Yet other verbs inflect for undergoer voice by attaching one of the prefixes *ni-*, *ku-* or *pu-* to the actor voice form. This actor voice form is often in turn derived from a noun or other stem (not shown here).

English Translation	**Actor Voice**	**Undergoer Voice**
grind	*nais*	*ninais*
add water	*mpit*	*nimpit*
sharpen	*ngakas*	*ningakas*
drop	*romùq*	*kurabuq*
fold over	*lapiat*	*pulapiat*
be angry at	*noruh*	*daruh, kudaruh*
say	*labi*	*kulabi*

Some verbs, such as *mungkuat* 'take', are best described as irregular.

English Translation	Actor Voice	Undergoer Voice
kill	*ngkomìs*	*kabis*
bring	*mmàt*	*tobat*
take	*mungkuat*	*tukuat*

As can be seen from the examples in this appendix, Matéq voice-related verbal morphology is not always predictable on the basis of a verb's phonological form alone. It must also be remembered that additional syntactic voices can be constructed on the basis of this morphology. For instance, the actor voice verb *nsayiat* 'ignite' has an undergoer voice form *sayiat*. But it also has an alternative undergoer voice form with the prefix *ni-*, *ninsayiat*, as well as an analytic undergoer voice form with the particle *ni*: *ni* + [Actor] + *nsayiat*. See (§4.2.2) for a fuller discussion of the voice system of Matéq.

Appendix 3: Texts

Text 1: The Turtle and the Bear

This story was recorded in October 2012 and was told by a speaker from the *Bi Somù* dialect group (see §1.4).

(BD.1) *adeah satu cirito agéq*
exist one story again
'there's another story'

(BD.2) *cirito dioq ngan bua*
story turtle with bear
'the story of the turtle[257] and the bear'

(BD.3) *dioq ngan bua téq bu-konsi*
turtle with bear this BU-friend
'the turtle and the bear were friends'

(BD.4) *taput tungkah datn téq bu-jalat, bu-jalat,*
so PROG 3PL this BU-walk BU-walk

bu-jalat noput poja, poja nyo
BU-walk AV.meet k.o.basket k.o.basket person
'one day they were walking along and they came across a basket,[258] someone's basket'

(BD.5) *tukuat datneh, tukuat neh*
UV.take 3PL UV.take 3
'so they took it'

(BD.6) *jéh monìk romin*
PRFT come house
'when they got home'

257*Dioq* is a species of small turtle that inhabits freshwater rivers.

258*Poja* is a type of large basket woven from rattan. It is larger than a similar type of basket known as *engei* (although in this story both terms are used to refer to the basket that the turtle and the bear find). Baskets like this are used to carry large amounts, such as when collecting fruit or wood from the forest, or when harvesting rice. Both *poja* and *engei* have straps like a backpack so that they can be carried on one's back, as well as a thick strip of beaten treebark attached to the top half of the basket. This can be set on the crown of one's head, allowing some of the weight to be distributed through one's neck when carrying a heavy load. It is this treebark strap which the turtle has to make for himself in this story.

(BD.7) *(dat a) dadek* *datneh téq* *matéq-éh*
UV.split 3PL this just.before
'they split it'

(BD.8) *téq,* *kuat=n,* *dadek* *deap* *maih=ng*
now UV.say=3 UV.split 1PL.INCL just=ADV

poja *téq,* *kuat=n,* *kuat (e)* *dioq*
k.o.basket this UV.say=3 UV.say turtle
'"Now," he said, "let's just split this basket," he said, said the turtle'

(BD.9) *aiq,* *tauq* *kuat* *bua*
that be.able UV.say bear
'"Yes, let's," said the bear'

(BD.10) *omant,* *kapek* *datn*
true UV.cut 3PL
'so they cut it'

(BD.11) *a* *okoq* *monu* *boboq=ng,* *omuq* *monu* *kona=ng,* *kuat* *dioq*
oh 1SG AV.take mouth=3 2SG AV.take bottom=3 UV.say turtle
'"Oh, I'll take the top part[259] and you can take the bottom part," said the turtle'

(BD.12) *okoq* *roq* *monu* *ngoa=ng* *torih=ng*
1SG want AV.take coincidentally=ADV rope=3
'"I want to take (the bit with) the rope"'

(BD.13) *o* *okoq* *lah* *monu* *boboq=ng,* *kuat* *bua,*
oh 1SG EMP AV.take mouth=3 UV.say bear

omuq *monu* *kona* *ngeh*
2SG AV.take bottom 3
'"Oh, *I'll* take the top part," said the bear, "you can take the bottom part"'

(BD.14) *bu-tengèh* *datn* *téq* *matéq-éh,* *bu-tengèh,* *bu-tengèh* *ajéh-ajéh*
BU-argue 3PL this just.before BU-argue BU-argue constantly
'they argued and kept on arguing and arguing'

(BD.15) *moru* *dioq* *monu,* *monu* *kona* *ngeh,* *bua* *téq* *monu* *boboq* *ngeh*
then turtle AV.take AV.take bottom 3 bear this AV.take mouth 3
'in the end the turtle took the bottom part and the bear took the top part'

259The terms for 'top part' and 'bottom part' in Matéq can be literally translated as 'mouth' and 'bottom'.

(BD.16)

bua	*téq*	*ka=ng*	*tauq*	*mant*	*monu*	*boboq=ng*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
bear	this	NEG=3	know	if	AV.take	mouth=3	this	just.before

lompok	*kona=ng,*	*kudiq*	*jéh*	*ni-ngapek*
have.hole	bottom=3	since	PRFT	UV-AV.cut

'but the bear didn't realise that if he took the top part it had a hole in it, since it had been cut'

(BD.17)

omant,	*dioq*	*téq*	*kuruat,*	*kuruat,*	*kuruat*	*neh*
true	turtle	this	patiently	patiently	patiently	3

mongki	*torih*	*d=adeapm*	*téq*	*matéq-éh,*
AV.make	rope	REL=3SG	this	just.before

kudiq	*nyaq*	*roq*	*oji*	*nyonga*
since	for	want	go.to.forest	AV.look.for.songa

'so the turtle patiently made a rope for his part, because he wanted to go out to the forest looking for *songa*[260] fruit'

(BD.18)

(e)	*poja*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
	k.o.basket	this	just.before

'the basket'

(BD.19)

jéh	*jodi*	*torih=ng*	*aiq*	*matéq-éh,*	*oji*
PRFT	become	rope=3	that	just.before	go.to.forest

datn	*ngan*	*bua*	*téq*	*matéq-éh,*	*oji*	*nyonga,*
3PL	with	bear	this	just.before	go.to.forest	AV.look.for.songa

nggou	*songa*
AV.look.for	k.o.fruit

'when his rope was finished he went out to the forest with the bear, looking for *songa* fruit'

(BD.20)

bua	*téq*	*degeq*	*ku*	*muo*
bear	this	constantly	at	front

'the bear went along in front'

(BD.21)

monu	*ngeh*	*mudah*	*bua*	*téq*	*ngapek*	*buoq*	*songa*	*matéq-éh,*
AV.take	3	easy	bear	this	AV.cut	fruit	k.o.fruit	just.before

usaq	*bua*	*téq*	*bu-bubuat*
because	bear	this	BU-fang

'it was easy for the bear to cut off the *songa* fruit, because he had fangs'

260*Songa* is a type of fruit which grows on the forest floor.

(BD.22)

bua	*ku*	*muo*
bear	at	front

'the bear was in front'

(BD.23)

capéq,	*capéq=ng*	*buoq*	*songa*	*téq*	*matéq-éh,*
UV.pick	UV.pick=3	fruit	k.o.fruit	this	just.before

puruaq=ng	*noq*	*poja*	*ngeh,*	*robuq*
UV.put.in=3	at	k.o.basket	3	fall

'he picked a *songa* fruit, put it into his basket, and it fell through'

(BD.24)

puruaq=ng	*agéq*	*noq*	*poja=ng,*	*robuq*
UV.put.in=3	again	at	k.o.basket=3	fall

'he put one into his basket again, and it fell through'

(BD.25)

jéh	*noq*	*kona=ng*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*	*dioq*	*téq*	*bu-runtiq*
PRFT	at	bottom=3	this	just.before	turtle	this	BU-eagerly

nyusut	*neh,*	*kudiq*	*diq*	*bua*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*	*lompok*
AV.pick.up	3	since	REL	bear	this	just.before	have.hole

'and right behind him the turtle eagerly picked them up, because the bear's one had a hole in it'

(BD.26)

ka	*ngeh*	*ngkirih,*	*ngkirih=ng*	*bua*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
NEG	3	AV.see	AV.see=3	bear	this	just.before

'but the bear didn't notice'

(BD.27)

jéh	*tuei*	*datn*	*aiq*	*ngogou=ng,*	*jéh*	*oi*	*datn*
PRFT	long.time	3PL	that	AV.look.for=3	PRFT	be.many	3PL

noput	*buoq,*	*buoq,*	*(a)*	*songa*	*téq*	*matéq-éh,*	*moriq*
AV.get	fruit	fruit		k.o.fruit	this	just.before	return.home

'when they had been searching for a long time, when they had already got lots of *songa* fruit, they went home'

(BD.28)

moriq	*bua,*	*moriq*	*nìk*	*romin*	*adeapm,*	*dioq*	*téq*
return.home	bear	return.home	to	house	3SG	turtle	this

moriq	*nìk*	*romin*	*adeapm*
return.home	to	house	3SG

'the bear went home to his house, and the turtle went home to his house'

(BD.29)

jéh	*noq*	*romin,*	*dioq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*	*jéh*	*bu-runtiq*
PRFT	at	house	turtle	this	just.before	PRFT	BU-eagerly

man	*buoq*	*songa=ng*	*matéq-éh*
AV.eat	fruit	k.o.fruit=3	just.before

'when he got home, the turtle eagerly ate up his *songa* fruit'

(BD.30)

diq	*bua*	*téq*	*monyamp*
REL	bear	this	lost

'the bear's ones were all gone'

(BD.31)

janguaq=ng	*engei*	*nyaq=ng*	*ngkirih=ng*
UV.look.into=3	k.o.basket	NYAQ=3	AV.see=3

nyaq=ng	*ngkirih=ng*	*lompok*	*engei=ng*	*aiq*
NYAQ=3	AV.see=3	have.hole	k.o.basket=3	that

'he looked into his basket and he saw it, he saw that his basket had a hole'

(BD.32)

noruh	*nyaq=ng*	*ngan*	*dioq,*	*noruh=ng*	*ngan*	*dioq*
AV.angry	NYAQ=3	with	turtle	AV.angry=3	with	turtle

'and he was angry with the turtle'

(BD.33)

kasek=ng	*nìk*	*romin*	*dioq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
UV.chase=3	to	house	turtle	this	just.before

'he ran to the turtle's house'

(BD.34)

roq	*kabis=ng*	*dioq,*	*roq*	*kabis=ng*	*dioq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
want	UV.kill=3	turtle	want	UV.kill=3	turtle	this	just.before

'he wanted to kill the turtle'

(BD.35)

dioq,	*usaq=ng*	*ngopik*	*bua*	*ngesek*	*adeapm,*	*obu,*
turtle	because=3	AV.hear	bear	AV.chase	3SG	flee

obu	*miriat*	*miriat*	*miriat*	*uwah*	*tobit,*	*miriat*	*uwah*	*tobit*	*pit*
flee	enter	enter	enter	inside	bank	enter	inside	bank	water

'the turtle, because he heard the bear chasing him, fled into a riverbank'[261]

(BD.36)

miriat	*neh*	*noq*	*oyiat*
enter	3	at	there

'he went in there'

261That is, into a hole in the overhanging part of a riverbank which can only be reached by diving underwater.

(BD.37) *noq tobit pit téq ngenèi nyaq=ng*
at bank water this stay NYAQ=3
'in the riverbank he stayed'

(BD.38) *noq tobit pit téq ngenèi*
at bank water this stay
'in the riverbank (he) stayed'

(BD.39) *nyaq=ng ngopik iyu bua téq jéh ngogou=ng*
NYAQ=3 AV.hear voice bear this PRFT AV.search.for=3

kotéq koih, kotéq koih
to.here to.there to.here to.there
'then he heard the sound of the bear searching for him here and there'

(BD.40) *bua téq panèi géq akal ngeh, noput tajuk*
bear this clever MIR mind 3 AV.find river.lizard
'the bear was clever, he found a river lizard'

(BD.41) *badoq=ng tajuk ngogou dioq téq matéq-éh*
UV.order=3 river.lizard AV.search.for turtle this just.before
'he made the river lizard look for the turtle'

(BD.42) *gagou tajuk dioq téq matéq-éh kudiq tajuk*
UV.search.for river.lizard turtle this just.before since river.lizard

diq tauq=ng melep nìk pit
REL be.able=3 dive to water
'the river lizard looked for the turtle

(BD.43) *gagou=ng nìk tobit téq matéq-éh, doput=n dioq*
UV.search.for=3 to bank this just.before UV.meet=3 turtle
'he looked into the riverbank, and found the turtle'

(BD.44) *doput=n dioq, bu-boliaq nyaq=ng ku-labi=ng nìk bua*
UV.meet=3 turtle BU-return NYAQ=3 UV-AV.say=3 to bear
'he found the turtle, then he went back and he said to the bear,'

(BD.45) *adeah dioq noq uwah cah kuat=n*
exist turtle at inside there UV.say=3
'“the turtle is in there,” he said'

(BD.46)

o,	*mant*	*baka*	*aiq,*	*iyu*	*ngeh,*	*téq*	*yoh,*
oh	if	like	that	voice	3	this	YOH

tobat	*sékét*	*koq*	*kuat=n*
UV.take	knife	1SG	UV.say=3

'“Oh, if that's the case,” he said, “here, take my knife,” he said'

(BD.47)

sékét=n	*téq*	*matéq-éh*	*bubuat=n,*	*tabuat=n*	*bubuat=n,*
knife=3	this	just.before	fang=3	UV.pull.out=3	fang=3

tinyuaq=ng	*dek*	*tajuk*
UV.give=3	to	river.lizard

'his knife was his fang, he pulled out his fang and gave it to the river lizard'

(BD.48)

kabis	*dioq*	*kuat=n,*	*aréq*	*lakar*	*okoq*
UV.kill	turtle	UV.say=3	MIR	deceive	1SG

'“Kill the turtle!” he said, “he's deceived me!”'

(BD.49)

omant	*neh,*	*miriat*	*nyaq=ng*	*nìk*	*tobit,*
true	3	enter	NYAQ=3	to	bank

nìk	*uwah*	*tobit*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
to	inside	bank	this	just.before

'so indeed he went into the riverbank, inside the riverbank'

(BD.50)

ku-labi=ng	*nìk*	*dioq,*	*téq*	*okoq*	*téq*	*kuat=n*
UV-AV.say=3	to	turtle	now	1SG	this	UV.say=3

monìk	*roq*	*ngkomìs*	*omuq*
come	want	AV.kill	2SG

'and he said to the turtle, “Now I've come to kill you”'

(BD.51)

bua	*modoq*	*koq*	*ngkomìs*	*omuq*	*kuat=n*
bear	AV.order	1SG	AV.kill	2SG	UV.say=3

'“the bear told me to kill you,” he said'

(BD.52)

samùat	*dioq*	*aiq,*	*kai*	*tauq*	*ngkomìs*	*okoq*	*kuat=n*
UV.answer	turtle	hey	NEG	be.able	AV.kill	1SG	UV.say=3

'the turtle answered, “Hey, you can't kill me!” he said'

(BD.53)

adeap	*ka*	[*buro*	*buro*]	*bur-odéq*	*kuat=n*
1PL.INCL	MIR			BU-younger.sibling	UV.say=3

'“We're related, you see” he said'

(BD.54) *aiq* *baka* *oniah=ng* *tauq* *bur-odéq* *adeap*
well like what=3 be.able BU-younger.sibling 1PL.INCL

kuat *tajuk* *monà* *dioq*
UV.say river.lizard AV.scold turtle
'"Just how is it that we are related?" said the river lizard to the turtle'

(BD.55) *aiq* *kapik* *nyo* *kuat=n*
well UV.listen person UV.say=3
'"Just listen," he said'

(BD.56) *juk* *bua* *kuat=n,* *ka* *beket* *odat=n* *kuat=n*
J B UV.say=3 MIR different name=3 UV.say=3
'"*juk... bua...*," he said,[262] "the names are different" he said'

(BD.57) *maq* *kapik* *nyo,* *juk* *ioq* *kuat=n,*
if UV.listen person J I UV.say=3

a *bur-odéq* *adeap*
ah BU-younger.sibling 1PL.INCL
'"but listen, *juk... ioq...*," he said, "Ah, we are related!"'

(BD.58) *kapik* *nyo* *kuat=n,* *juk* *bua,* *juk* *ioq* *kuat* *neh*
UV.listen person UV.say=3 J B J I UV.say 3

matéq-éh *labi* *odat,* *odat* *datn* *téq* *bur-odéq*
just.before AV.say name name 3PL this BU-younger.sibling
'"Just listen," he said, "*juk... bua..., juk... ioq...*," he said, saying that their names were related'

(BD.59) *omant=n* *géq* *kuat* *tajuk,* *bur-odéq*
true=3 MIR UV.say river.lizard BU-younger.sibling

adeap *waq* *kuat=n*
1PL.INCL WAQ UV.say=3
'"It's true then!" said the river lizard, "we are related aren't we!"'

262During this conversation, the turtle cunningly relies on the similarity of his name with that of the river lizard's. Both 'turtle' and 'river lizard' in Matéq have final closed syllables, while 'bear' has a final open syllable and therefore sounds different. This may be taken as evidence of a relationship between the turtle and the river lizard since, like in many Dayak tribes, Matéq children from the same family are often given similar sounding names.

(BD.60)

a,	*tapi*	*baka*	*oniah*	*téq*	*matéq*	*kuat*	*neh,*
ah	but	like	what	this	soon	UV.say	3

bua	*modoq*	*koq*	*ngkomìs*	*omuq*	*kuat=n*
bear	AV.order	1SG	AV.kill	2SG	UV.say=3

'"Ah, but what about this," he said, "the bear told me to kill you," he said'

(BD.61)

aiq	*baka*	*téq*	*kuat*	*dioq*
well	like	this	UV.say	turtle

'"Well, it's like this," said the turtle'

(BD.62)

matéq	*koq*	*ngumpoq*	*kuat=n,*	*ngumpoq=ng,*
soon	1SG	chew.betel	UV.say=3	chew.betel=3

a,	*jéh*	*ngumpoq*	*ni-rucuah*	*koq*	*sékét*	*muq*	*at*
ah	PRFT	chew.betel	UV-AV.spit.on	1SG	knife	2SG	that

'"I'll chew some betel leaf,"[263] he said, "and when I've chewed it, I'll spit onto that knife of yours"'

(BD.63)

baruq	*tobat*	*nyo*	*nìk*	*bua,*	*ku-labi*	*nyo*
then	UV.bring	person	to	bear	UV-AV.say	person

jéh	*ngkomìs*	*okoq,*	*jéh*	*kobis*
PRFT	AV.kill	1SG	PRFT	dead

'"then take it to the bear and tell him that you've already killed me, that (I'm) dead"'

(BD.64)

omant,	*ngumpoq*	*ngumpoq*	*ngumpoq*	*ngumpoq*	*ngumpoq,*
true	chew.betel	chew.betel	chew.betel	chew.betel	chew.betel

ni-rucuah=ng	*sékét*	*jénéq*	*matéq-éh,*	*bua*	*matéq-éh*
UV-AV.spit.on=3	knife	whathisname	just.before	bear	just.before

'so indeed he chewed and chewed and chewed, and spat on the knife of what's his name, the bear'

(BD.65)

nyaq	*tajuk*	*téq*	*kuluar*	*mmàt,*	*jéh*	*bu-doyoq*
NYAQ	river.lizard	this	exist	AV.bring	PRFT	BU-blood

sékét	*téq*	*matéq-éh,*	*padoq=ng*	*nìk*	*bua*
knife	this	just.before	UV.show=3	to	bear

'then the river lizard went out carrying the knife that was bloodied, and he showed it to the bear'

263*Ngumpoq* refers to a common pasttime in Dayak village life, that of chewing betel vine leaf (a mild stimulant) and areca palm nut. The resulting juice is red in colour and distinctively stains the lips, teeth and fingertips of the chewer. This red juice is used by the turtle in the story to create fake bloodstains on the knife.

(BD.66)

sonang	*owa*	*bua*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*	*ona=ng*	*siq*
happy	soul	bear	this	just.before	guess=3	SIQ

jéh	*kobis*	[*e*]	*dioq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
PRFT	dead		turtle	this	just.before

'the bear was happy, he thought that the turtle was dead'

(BD.67)

padahal	*ni*	*datn*	*lakar*	*agéq*
in.fact	UV	3PL	AV.deceive	again

'but in fact they had deceived him again'

(BD.68)

moru	*aman*	*dioq*	*téq,*	*osik*	*cirito=ng*
then	safe	turtle	this	be.finished	story=3

'so then the turtle was safe, that's the end of the story'

Text 2: *Luéh ma Basuaq* shoots the snake

This story was recorded in the village of Koli in November 2012. The speaker was a member of the *Bi Uwah Bunuo* dialect group. It is a small extract from a much longer series of stories about *Bunuo Mawa* 'the land of abandoned villages' (see §1.2 for more on this term). The extract presented here occurred near the beginning of the narrative and tells the story of how *Luéh ma Basuaq* killed the giant snake which became part of the landscape of *Bunuo Mawa*.

(MS1.2)

eiq,	*baruq*	*dalap*[264]	*Bunuo*	*Mawa*	*terdiri*[265]	*noq*	*oyiat*
yes	then	in	B	M	established	at	there

'so, when *Bunuo Mawa* was established there'

(MS1.3)

ngemeh	*bolo*	*naq*	*nsio*	*noq*	*oni*	*yoh*
AV.make.ricefield	QUAN	child	human	at	there	YOH

'people were making ricefields'

(MS1.4)

nuruaq
AV.dibble
'(they) were dibbling'[266]

(MS1.5)

jéh	*monìk*	*tateaq*	*nuruaq*
PRFT	come	time	AV.dibble

'the time had come to dibble'

(MS1.6)

uwah	*moriq*	*nuruaq*	*téq,*	*odeah*	*saka*	*ular*
inside.of	return.home	AV.dibble	this	exist	EXCLT	snake

degeq	*nyilat*	*meh*
constantly	AV.lap.up	ricefield

'when they were returned home from dibbling, there was a huge snake that kept eating (from) the ricefield'

(MS1.7)

man	*podi*	*noq*	*uwah*	*meh*
AV.eat	rice	at	inside.of	ricefield

'eating the rice in the ricefield'

(MS1.8)

jéh	*monìk*	*tateaq*	*ngabas*	*meh*	*aiq,*	*nyamp*	*lanta=ng*
PRFT	come	time	AV.check	ricefield	that	not.exist	AV.grow=3

'when the time came to check on the ricefield, there was no rice growing'

264 *Dalap* appears to be an adoption from Indonesian *dalam* 'in(side)'.
265 *Terdiri* is a borrowing from Indonesian *terdiri* 'existed, established, consisted of'.
266 I.e. sowing rice seeds by dropping them into holes poked into the ground with a dibbling stick.

(MS1.9)

monàp owa	*Luéh*	*ma*	*Basuaq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
sore soul	L	father	B	this	just.before

tangki=ng	*ngkuluba*
UV.make=3	hole

'*Luéh ma Basuaq* was upset, so he made a hole (in the ground)'

(MS1.10)

kudiq	*jitirinaq=ng*	*ngekep=ng*	*nuruaq,*
since	3PL.HON=3	tomorrow=3	AV.dibble

toyat=n	*mongki*	*ngkuluba*
beforehand=3	AV.make	hole

'because his family was going to dibble the next day, he made a hole beforehand'

(MS1.11)

sangkep	*ngeh*	*minyaq*	*baru,*	*jurua*	*montiq*	*ci*
UV.cover	3	AV.use	B	rice.barn	be.as.big.as	this

'he covered it over with a *baru*, a rice barn as big as this'

(MS1.12)

tingan=n	*supiat*
UV.carry.in.hand=3	blowpipe

'he took hold of his blowpipe'

(MS1.13)

nyaq=ng	*jéh*	*osik,*	*moriq*	*jitirinaq=ng*	*aiq*	*nuruaq,*
NYAQ=3	PRFT	finish	return.home	3PL.HON=3	that	AV.dibble

nyaq=ng	*ngkirih*	*ular*	*aiq,*	*baka*	*ci,*	*saka*	*ular*
NYAQ=3	AV.see	snake	that	like	this	EXCLT	snake

'when they had finished, he and his family went home from dibbling,
then they saw the snake, like this, a huge snake'

(MS1.14)

ni=ng	*nyilat-nyilat*	*podi*	*noq*	*ruba*	*turuaq*
UV=3	AV.lap.up-RED	rice	at	hole	dibbling.stick

'it was eating the rice (seeds) in the dibbling holes'

(MS1.15)

suluar	*Luéh*	*ma*	*Basuaq*	*téq*	*matéq-éh*
UV.aim	L	father	B	this	just.before

supiat	*noq*	*ruba*	*baru=ng,*	*baka*	*ci*
blowpipe	at	hole	B=3	like	this

'so *Luéh ma Basuaq* aimed his blowpipe from his *baru*-hole, like this'

(MS1.16) *tumas* *jiroq=ng* *téq* *yoh*
just.right tongue=3 this YOH
'it was just right on his tongue'

(MS1.17) *ni=ng* *nyupiat* *minyaq* *upuah*[267]
UV=3 AV.shoot.blowpipe AV.use poison
'he shot it with *upuah* poison'

(MS1.18) *kobis* *ular* *aiq* *yoh*
dead snake that YOH
'the snake died'

(MS1.19) *baruq* *robuq* *ular* *aiq,* *cah* *kudoq* *Romen* *baq=ng,*
then fall snake that there part R head=3

nyaq *bi* *Romen* *panèi=ng* *bur-ayut*
NYAQ person R clever=3 BU-craddle
'then the snake fell, its head (fell) on the *Romen* area,
and that's why the *Romen* people are good at chanting'[268]

(MS1.20) *(a)* *ungki=ng* *téq* *kudoq* *daérah* *oméq,*
tail=3 this part area 3PL.EXCL

jodi *sungi,* *jodi* *pit* *ular* *matéq-éh* *diq* *kobis*
become river become water snake just.before REL dead
'its tail (fell) onto our area, and became a river, it became water,
that snake which died'

(MS1.21) *koneh=ng* *aiq* *degeq* *sara* *ular* *aiq* *matéq-éh*
because=3 that constantly UV.attack snake that just.before

nyaq *Bunuo* *Mawa* *téq* *oi* *popar* *obu*
NYAQ B M this be.many splatter flee
'because they were constantly being attacked by that snake, many (people from)
Bunuo Mawa fled all over the place'

(MS1.22) *ni* *ular* *aiq* *degeq* *nyora* *ruba* *turuaq=ng*
UV snake that constantly AV.attack hole dibbling.stick=3
'their dibbling holes were constantly being attacked by that snake'

(MS1.23) *obu* *nìk* *Mawa* *Sora*
flee to M S
'(they) fled into *Mawa Sora*'

267*Upuah* refers to a type of poison made from the *upuah* tree.
268*Bur-ayut* refers to singing or chanting, as in when putting a child to sleep.

(MS1.24) *obu* *nìk* *Mawa* *Tingayaq*
flee to M S
'(they) fled into *Mawa Tingayaq*'

(MS1.25) *obu* *nìk* *jénéq* *téq,* *bi* *Dayaq* *diq* *sojuq* *Kulampei,*
flee to whatchimicallit this person D REL upstream K

arok *bi* *Dayaq*
place person D
'(they) fled to whatchimicallit, the *Dayaq* people who were in upstream *Kulampei*, the place of the *Dayaq* people'

(MS1.26) *baruq* *(a)* *Mawa* *Tamput* *si-roto* *ngan* *Bunuo* *Mawa,*
then M T be.together with B M

tinan, *tinan* *terdiri* *mawa* *diq* *at*
truly truly established abandoned.village REL that
'then... *Mawa Tamput* together with *Bunuo Mawa* indeed established that *mawa*'

(MS1.27) *soq* *aroq=ng* *mulo-éh,* *mula*
from beginnig=3 long.long.ago long.ago
'from the beginning long, long ago'

(MS1.28) *baruq* *jéh* *tidiri*
then PRFT established
'then there was already...'

(MS1.29) *oniah* *téq* *matéq-éh* *obu,* *bu-pinàh* *Tingayaq,*
what this just.before flee BU-move T

nìk *Mawa* *Sora*
to M S
'what was that... (they) fled, *Tingayaq* moved, to *Mawa Sora*'

(MS1.30) *ngan* *jénéq* *matéq-éh,* *bi* *Dayaq*
with whatchimicallit just.before person D
'with whatchimicallit, the *Dayaq* people'

(MS1.31) *datn* *laman,* *du* *taruah* *momoq* *laman,*
3PL live.in.hut two three household live.in.hut

pajah-pajah=ng *moru* *oi*
keep.on-RED=3 then be.many
'they lived in huts in the ricefields, two or three families lived in a hut, and they became many'

(MS1.32)

néh	*téq*	*popat=n*	*jéh*	*omùh*	*tobat*	*sowoq*
3	this	breadth=3	PRFT	long	UV.bring	year

'then, as the years passed'

(MS1.33)

oi	*saq*	*oi,*	*jéh,*	*kai*	*jéh*	*oi*	*saq*	*oi*
be.many	more	be.many	PRFT	NEG	PRFT	be.many	more	be.many

'(they) became more and more numerous'

(MS1.34)

tobat=n	*taun*	*demi*	*taun*	*téq*	*jéh*	*tuei*
UV.bring=3	year	by	year	this	PRFT	long.time

'year after year, after a long time'

(MS1.35)

jéh	*oi*	*naq*	*nsio*
PRFT	be.many	child	human

'people became numerous'

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